

The World Tomorrow

OCTOBER, 1930

War Guilt!

A Summary of 429 Opinions
and a
Symposium by

Bertrand Russell

Norman Thomas

James T. Shotwell

Mary Austin

H. L. Mencken

Norman Angell

Forward Trends in the Near East

ELIZABETH MACCALLUM

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Bertrand Russell



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This journal seeks to interpret underlying forces ignored by most periodicals, to describe the emergence of new ideas and significant experiments and to evaluate critically existing propaganda, customs and inertia.

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"Economics and Industry," by Teijiro Ueda, Professor, Tokyo University of Commerce.

"Morality and Religion," by Arthur Jorgensen, Literary Secretary, National Y. M. C. A., Japan.

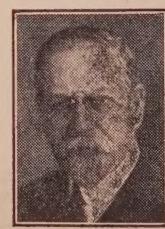
"Japan's Record in Korea," by Sherwood Eddy, publicist and international traveller.



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Edwin R. A. Seligman



C. F. Andrews

The World Tomorrow

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The World Tomorrow, Inc.

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In November

A SPECIAL NUMBER ON PROGRESS IN JAPAN

Education and Culture

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Japan's Record in Korea

Sherwood Eddy, publicist and international traveler

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII

October, 1930

No. 10

Editorials

The War-Guilt Question

Who caused the World War? The answer to this question possesses the utmost political significance. The Treaty of Versailles rests upon the cornerstone of the sole responsibility of Germany and her allies, and its validity depends upon the stability of its foundation. The mature conclusions of scientific scholarship seem to be undermining the pillars of the peace treaty. The war-time theory of the exclusive guilt of the Central Powers is rapidly being abandoned by competent historians who have thoroughly examined the evidence now available. But if Germany is not alone guilty, what is the ethical basis of indemnities or reparations? Why should the German people be compelled to stagger under the enormous annual payments demanded? What justification is there for the Danzig corridor which separates East Prussia from the rest of the atherland? Why should Germany be denied colonies and mandates? "Indeed," wrote Poincaré in the *Temps* on December 27, 1920, "if the Central Powers did not start the War, why should they be condemned to pay the damages? If responsibility is divided, then, as a matter of necessity and justice, the costs must also be divided!" Likewise the *Figaro* said: "In fact, if Germany is not guilty, then the Peace Treaty is unjust. It would be unjust even though the guilt were distributed."

This problem cannot be disposed of by saying that it is closed issue and is now merely of academic interest. A hundred million people feel passionately that the peace treaties are based upon falsehood and they will ever rest content until drastic changes have been wrought. Impassioned orations concerning war responsibility are constantly being hurled across the chine from both directions. Are the injustices of the peace terms to be remedied by persuasion and agreement, or will the victors procrastinate until the victims desperation resort to violence? To say that the Central Powers are impotent and helpless is to adopt a perilous attitude. Political alignments are notoriously fickle. Already there are sharp rifts within the ranks of the Allies. The Italian Government has recently indicated a desire to see changes made in the peace treaties. Those persons who are opposed to

violent revolution and war are under obligation to seek pacific means of solving ominous problems. Permanent peace will be jeopardized to the extent that the political arrangements of Europe rest upon falsehood and injustice. The Williamstown Institute was startled a few weeks ago by the prediction that another great war will break out during the period from 1935 to 1940. While this prophecy seems to us unwarranted pessimism, there is no doubt that the tension in Europe is today far more acute than is generally recognized on this side of the ocean.

A recent German writer has said that only by correcting injustices by peaceful methods "can war or revolution be averted in the future. If such methods are not employed soon enough, things will some day explode of themselves. At present it would appear that people expect to prevent the explosion by winding wires around the over-heated kettle of Europe rather than by lifting the cover. The wires represent the post-war treaties; the cover personifies a revision of the Peace Treaty." The peace treaties will ultimately be changed drastically—by what means? They will never be changed in a pacific manner except under the relentless pressure of an alert and aroused public opinion. The formation and direction of that public opinion is one of the most important undertakings before the peace movement. Europeans often accuse American peace workers of being sentimental and prone to overlook sordid realities. To bury our heads in the sands of neglect and hostility is to court disaster.

Moreover, the prevention of another great war depends in considerable measure upon a clear understanding of the causes of the recent conflagration. So long as we adhere to the scapegoat theory and attempt to account for the War by laying the blame upon "the Kaiser and the Potsdam gang," we will fail to make the required changes in international attitudes and practices. The whole program of military and naval preparedness rests upon the assumption that we are in danger of attack from "a mad-dog nation." Not until we recognize that our peril arises out of a system rather than from the wicked designs of any one nation will we adopt those measures which alone can give us security.

For these reasons it seemed important to find out more accurately the present state of public opinion in the United States with regard to the question of responsibility for the War. The title of our leading article in this issue indicates its purpose: "War-Guilt Soundings," emphasis upon "Soundings." This article does not attempt to prove anything. It seeks merely to reflect the state of mind of the persons who responded to the questionnaire. Answers were sought from men and women in various professions, in an endeavor to discover the extent to which the findings of historical scholarship have become common knowledge among leaders of public opinion. That anyone would assume, as seems to have been the case with some friends who participated in our symposium, that we imagined these miscellaneous replies constituted a scientific judgment never occurred to us. The concluding paragraphs of the article point out some of the limitations of the questionnaire method. The primary purpose of the summary of replies and of the appended symposium is to stimulate more intelligent discussion of this extremely crucial problem.

The German Elections and War Guilt

Emphasis is given to what we have written above by the poll of fourteen million votes on September 14th by German parties which are anti-republic, anti-Versailles-Treaty, anti-Young-Plan, and anti-League-of-Nations. Both Fascists and Communists dramatically capitalized the severe economic suffering and bitter resentment against foreign domination. The reactionaries campaigned vigorously against the Treaty of Ver-

sailles and the existing reparation agreement and were rewarded with an eight-fold increase in their representation in the Reichstag. The future of parliamentary government in Germany hangs in the balance. A dictatorship of the right or the left will emerge if the prevailing economic misery is prolonged and if the existing opposition to debt payments is maintained. Either a Fascist or Communist regime would gravely menace the peace of Europe. Unless the Allies are criminally stupid they will strengthen the forces of moderation in Germany by a more enlightened and liberal policy with regard to reparation and the modification of the Treaty of Versailles. To go on repeating wartime shibboleths and blindly to reject the insistent demand for drastic changes in the "peace" terms is to run the risk of precipitating another world-wide cataclysm. To expect the German people to continue crushing reparation payments for the next forty or fifty years is to labor under a tragic illusion.

One significant aspect of the election should not be overlooked: the Fascists made a sensational gain of 91 seats as compared with a modest increase of 22 seats by the Communists. That is to say, the appeal of ultra-nationalism proved to be more alluring to the voters than the challenge of the class war.

War Holidays Scrapped

A step of great significance was recently taken by Greece and Turkey when they mutually agreed to discontinue a holiday which fostered hatred between their people. In the past seven years, since the reoccupation of Smyrna by the Turks, the anniversary of its capture has been observed in western Turkey on September 9th. The day was the occasion for reviving memories of this recent war, of opening old grievances, and in general, of rattling the sabre. Greece in turn had a day of mourning for the loss of Smyrna, a day when funerals were piled onto the flames of the old feud. Lately, however, the two countries have liquidated their differences and signed a treaty of friendship, designed to promote more amicable relations. Admitting that such holidays tended to create hostility instead of friendship, both nations agreed to discontinue them after this year. This decision received considerable publicity in the Turkish press which openly declared that the motive was the elimination of provocative practices.

That such a move can be made in the Near East speaks eloquently for the new mentality which is emerging. It is another illustration that practical statesmen even in the bitter divisions of this section of the world are beginning to realize the necessity of building constructively for peace. Already the effect of the announcement has been marked. There is widespread interest in a proposed Balkan federation which may eventually do much to build a friendly atmosphere in an area which suffered so terribly from hatred and wa-



Map Showing European Nations Favoring and Opposing Treaty Revision

The Balance Sheet of Labor

The annual Labor Day meeting of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at Brookwood Labor College made an effort to estimate the gains and losses of organized labor during the past year. The balance sheet shapes up about as follows: The American Federation of Labor with its affiliated unions went on record in favor of old age pensions, a departure from the extremely individualistic philosophy which has marked its past history; and notable improvements in providing old age security were obtained in New York and some other states, though in no case genuine pension legislation. The New York State Federation of Labor in its August convention further went on record in favor of unemployment insurance, after such a measure had been sponsored by Governor Roosevelt at the Denver conference of governors. Other notable triumphs in which the official labor movement shared were the defeat of the attempt to put Judge Parker of "yellow-dog contract" fame on the Federal Supreme Court bench, and the passage in New York of a bill prohibiting the issuance of an injunction in a labor dispute until both sides have been heard in court. Since last January a campaign of union organization has been under way in Southern states, of which it may at least be said that it is the most imposing general organization effort the Federation has made in ten years.

On the other hand, the Federation which, though never revolutionary, was in the old days aligned with the liberal "opposition" elements in the nation, is steadily becoming more subservient to the regime of Hooverism, Republicanism, big business, militarism and imperialism. A year ago when a depression was already under way, the A. F. of L. joined in the chorus of Republican prosperity, thus contributing to the severity of the eventual crash. When the latter came, and the administration issued misleading optimistic statements, the labor leaders failed to play fair with the workers by telling them the truth. Instead of emphasizing the tremendous losses the workers sustained either through unemployment or direct wage-cuts (which occurred in hundreds of instances), the A. F. of L. leaders continue to support the President's exaggerated claim of having maintained the wage standard. On the basis of this claim Mr. Hoover has been honored by an invitation to speak at the forthcoming Boston convention; and this only a few months after his last-ditch fight for the Parker appointment! Matthew Volland and his American Wage Earners Protective League helped to put over the most iniquitous tariff bill in our history, and no labor leaders have made any effective protest. In New York City the official labor movement continues in the face of unusually shocking revelations of graft to support the mountebank Jimmy Walker rather than Norman Thomas. The A. F. of L. wants jobs for machinists and so urges Hoover to build

battleships, and pays only lip service to the cause of disarmament. Even in the South the organizing effort has been feeble in comparison to the needs. Altogether too much energy has been spent in the effort to "sell" the A. F. of L. as safe and sound and anti-Communist to textile magnates who have demonstrated at Elizabethton, Gastonia, and Marion that they will not tolerate any kind of unionism, instead of calling on the workers to rally for a great crusade for bread, justice, and liberty.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action has succeeded in establishing itself as a recognized opposition against these tendencies, and as the voice of progressive labor standing for the organization of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in industrial unions, against the exclusion of Negroes or any other groups, for a nation-wide program of social insurance, for a Labor Party, for honesty and democracy in union administration, and against militarism and imperialism. It finds that unemployment and poverty have rendered the workers more ready than in the past several years to listen to its message, and despite the present depression it looks forward to a year of intensified revolt on the part of the workers against the tendencies now dominant in our American life.

Whither Politics?

How much real antagonism to the Hoover administration has been created by the business depression should be revealed in the November elections. The vote given this fall to third-party groups ought to indicate whether or not the voters really desire a new political alignment. The most hopeful element in the situation is the growing determination on the part of many groups and individuals to bolt the old historical groupings and form a party based upon present-day realities. Voters are becoming increasingly convinced that there is no real difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. The evidence of this tendency is to be found in the fact that several state Federations of Labor, notably those in New York, Rhode Island, and Washington, are circularizing their locals as to the advisability of inaugurating a labor party. States like Utah and Montana are already organizing new parties. In Minnesota the Republican candidate for governor is omitting the party label on his posters and literature because of the general hostility towards his party.

The unusual vitality and enthusiasm of third-party groups in the field is most promising. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party is inaugurating an aggressive campaign and will probably elect the next governor of the state. The Socialists in New York City are attracting national attention with their all-star cast running for Congress in the persons of Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun, Judge Pankin, and B. C. Vladeck. The newspaper publicity being accorded them and the distinguished membership of their non-partisan committees

indicate an aroused opposition to Tammany and a willingness to consider a new political alignment. In Wisconsin, Chicago, Reading, and Buffalo similar fights are being waged. And the spirited protest against the nomination of a conservative corporation lawyer, Charles Evans Hughes, to the Supreme Court and the decisive defeat of the reactionary Judge Parker to that office were refreshing. Finally, the insistent way in which old age pensions, unemployment insurance, adequate farm relief and tariff revision are being forced upon the attention of public officials is significant.

There are, however, some very discouraging aspects of the present situation, chief among them the disproportionate emphasis given to prohibition. It is driving into the background social and economic issues which ought to be faced squarely. Surely it is more important to get men jobs, living wages, and enough to eat, and to preserve international peace than to lose all perspective in discussing the drink question. It is disturbing to find people so busy applauding a Dwight Morrow for his political courage in opposing prohibition in a normally wet state, that they forget his silence on pressing national issues such as unemployment, the tariff, and the League of Nations. The excessive use of money in political campaigns is another alarming factor. As for the Smoot-Hawley Tariff bill, it is a scandal of the most vicious type and constitutes final proof that big business dominates our Government.

Despite all these unfavorable factors, we are inclined to believe that the progressive outlook is brighter now than at any time since 1914. The remarkable response from over the nation to the appeal of the League for Independent Political Action is distinctly gratifying. Requests are coming from progressives in every section of the country for assistance in the formation of new city and state parties based on the principle of increased social control. Certainly the elections next month should furnish a basis for judgment as to which way the country is moving politically.

Startlingly Thrilling News

We have long maintained that the international bankers have more to lose and less to gain from war than from peace and that recognition of this fact is rapidly spreading. But we were not prepared for an editorial which appeared in the *Financial Chronicle* of August 23rd. In commenting upon petitions being circulated in 26 nations by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, calling upon governments for "total and universal disarmament," this powerful financial journal said: "The work is good and ought to be prosecuted vigorously... There is no time to be lost to securely fasten the peace of the world... There ought to be millions on millions of names to these petitions... Yes—it may indeed come to the issue of 'total and universal disarmament,' or another

world-war... What harm can possibly come from total and universal disarmament on land and sea?... The women of the world ought all to sign these petitions, for they are the first and the last losers."

It Won't be Long Now!

S. Stanwood Menken confesses his former error and now recommends the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. Mr. Menken is chairman of the National Security League and has long been a relentless opponent of Communism. One would have expected the stars to have swerved in their course before this super-patriot abandoned the faith. When castigated for his apostasy by his comrade Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the National Civic Federation, Mr. Menken retorted: "I feel that your effort to alarm the business men of this country into contributions for a campaign against Communism is entirely on a false basis. The undue exaggeration may fill the coffers of the National Civic Federation, but that does not in any sense relieve your position from absurdities or warrant your attacks on representative citizens. Well, well, well! After this remarkable conversion we would be surprised if Herbert Hoover should advocate recognition of Russia—but not greatly!"

Eugène Guillot, We Salute You!

To refuse war service in France, where conscription is rigorous and where war resisters are yet but few requires the sturdiest kind of moral courage. Eugène Guillot is not the first there to accept the risks of conscientious objection, but he has expressed himself with clarity and dramatized an issue which will not down. Guillot has a wife and an adopted child. He is twenty-four years old. He had chances to flee from France but would not run away from his service to an ideal. He is now in prison. To President Doumergue he has addressed himself as follows:

I am sending you this letter to let you know that for four years my intention has been the same, and, desirous of making it public, I tell you that I am and shall remain a war resister. My conscience, having deeply thought over this subject, forbids me to wear a soldier's uniform. Being a libertarian, I do not conceive any idea of Country or Fatherland, consequently I have nothing to gain in war, except the shame of killing. I am opposed to the military law which puts murderous tools into the hands of men.

I was a child when the great slaughter took place, but my brain has nevertheless stored up all the ugliness of this butchery when tears and blood were the only drinks one was offered.

Knowing full well the responsibilities resulting from my attitude, I am happy and proud to defy the threats which you have codified in the infamous conscription law. All governments, so they say, wish to suppress war. War will disappear only when men, whoever they may be, understand the necessity of having done with it forever. You ban crimes

in your courthouses in peace-time, but in time of war you take life away from those who do not wish to kill. I am in opposition to such action. Desirous of not acting in contradiction to the dictates of my conscience, I cry to you, "Down with conscription! Down with the army! Down with war!"

A French Committee for the Defense of Eugène Guillot has been formed and asks a public declaration of sympathy and the moral support of all those who wish to aid this valiant war resister in his struggle.

The Anglicans Warn Governments

The Anglican bishops assembled at the Lambeth Conference adopted a radical resolution concerning war. They went on record as saying: "We affirm that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ . . . We hold that the Christian Church in every nation should refuse to countenance any war between nations solemnly bound by treaty, covenant or pact, for the settlement of international disputes, in regard to which the government of its own country has not declared its willingness to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration or conciliation." If America should again face a situation parallel to the crisis of 1917, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States could not consistently endorse or support war. This pronouncement stops short of the absolute excommunication of war by the church, but there is reason to be hopeful that within a decade another Lambeth Conference will advance to Jesus' position with regard to hatred and slaughter.

Nanking Holds Grimly On

That the Nanking Government has survived the repeated announcements of its imminent dissolution is good news. We are not unmindful that many of its leaders are reactionaries and some of them are notorious grafters, or that its record while in office is entirely unsatisfactory to liberals and radicals. Nevertheless we are convinced that all suggested alternatives are far less desirable. Stable government is the supreme need in China today and Chiang Kai-Shek offers more hope than any other leader of holding the nation together and reducing banditry and piracy. The manifold revolutions—political, economic, intellectual, ethical and religious—which are in process render it inevitable that for many decades to come China will make heavy demands upon the sympathy and co-operation of other countries. Under the circumstances, therefore, we are glad to read the latest report of the hostile correspondent of the *New York Times* that Nanking politically and from a military point of view is stronger today than at any time since the first rebellion last October started a series of crises, three of which seriously imperiled the existence of the government."

Backbone in High Places

The vigorous tone used by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in criticizing the British Government for the way it has administered its trust in Palestine is significant and heartening. Of far more ultimate importance than the merits of the particular controversy is the fact that a great power has been called on the carpet by an international body and given a public spanking. Two decades or even ten years ago such a spectacle would have been unimaginable. And the British member of the Mandates Commission participated in the chastisement of his own nation!

The New Russian Calendar

The French Revolution about a century and a half ago, introduced a new calendar, dating the new era from the establishment of the Republic, September 21, 1792. The Russians have now followed suit. The Russian era begins with November 7, 1917. The year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each. Five national holidays fill out the 365 days. The month is divided into six weeks of five days each, Saturday and Sunday being omitted. Every worker has one holiday a week, which is not the same day for all workers. In other words, factories, offices, socialized farms, etc., work on all five days, while a certain number of workers has a day of rest every day. The fiscal year begins with January 1.

The new Russian calendar is not merely a revolutionary gesture. It is a social experiment of supreme importance and it must be kept in mind when reading the news from Russia. Unobtrusive and seemingly unimportant on the surface, it carries within itself possibilities that are likely to be sensational.

Devere Allen Goes to Europe

After ten years' continuous service with this journal, Devere Allen has sailed with his family for fourteen months abroad. It may be said without exaggeration that in the entire history of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* no member of the staff has made so significant a contribution to its readers as Mr. Allen. He has now gone to Europe for the purpose of studying intensively the pacifist and labor movements of that continent. We are glad to announce that his articles and editorials will appear regularly in our columns throughout the year.

Miss Gladys E. Meyerand has received a merited promotion to the position of Associate Editor. General editorial responsibility will be shared by Kirby Page and Reinhold Niebuhr who returns fresh from interesting experiences in Germany and Russia. Mr. A. Albert MacLeod continues in administrative direction of the magazine.

Clippings

We Ask You!

Moreover, why should we build cruisers which are of no use to us?—*Editorial, Army and Navy Journal, June 28, 1930, p. 1016.*

And the Vote Was 58 to 9!

We are glad the treaty is being considered in extra session. That means the country, undisturbed by other matters, will have its attention concentrated upon the instrument. If it ratify, then we will say it is the will of the people, based upon knowledge.—*Editorial, Army and Navy Journal, July 12, 1930.*

The Imperial Mind

What might have happened had he (General Dyer) not struck in no half-hearted manner at Amritsar no one ever can know. . . . Perhaps some day the public will be told all, and Dyer's correct appreciation of the crisis, and the stern measures which he took, may then seem to have been fully justified.—*Editorial, Army Quarterly, Oct. 1927, p. 13.*

More Power to the Bank

Since the war there have been established a world council, a world court, and, latterly, a world bank. . . . The most skeptical must see, in all these, unprecedented gestures in the furtherance of human unification. It may be that the last mentioned, the world bank, will ere long be speaking more convincingly than either league or court.—*Professor James Harvey Robinson in an address before the American Historical Association meeting at Durham, N. C.*

Educating Liberals

Most liberal movements are simply uneducated when it comes to the present Negro problem, and a persistent course of education backed by facts, figures, and explanations, must be entered upon in order to convince liberals and radicals that the Negro problems of the twentieth century are human problems, so intermingled and interconnected with other problems of human reform that they cannot be neglected without ultimate disaster.—*W. E. B. Du Bois, in an address before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at Springfield, Mass., July 1, 1930.*

In The Saturday Evening Post Too!

The time has come for Uncle Sam to retire from Haiti and let its people govern themselves. The United States went there regrettably, because anarchy was at our very doors and because a European nation would have assumed the task if we had not undertaken it. We declared, and sincerely, that our occupation was free from self-interest and was temporary. Fifteen years is not temporary. Long ago we should have come out. Every day we remain, Haitians have a right to doubt our expressed purpose in landing troops. Every day we have stayed there since order was restored has justified Latin-American suspicion of our disinterestedness. Every day that American officials and Marines have exercised authority, since conditions were improved, has injured American prestige and has caused the world to question our good faith. Haiti belongs to the Haitians.—*Josephus Daniels in The Saturday Evening Post, July 12, 1930.*

Advice to Youth

Do not be afraid of being called a radical. A radical in these days is one who believes in the Constitution of the United States and will not barter away his devotion for party, for the sake of so-called regularity, or for the sake of being with the majority.—*Senator William E. Borah, in a radio address to college graduates June, 1930.*

Refuse to Serve!

"What would you do in the event of a new war breaking out?" asks *Die Wahrheit Enquiry, Czechoslovakia*. "I should unconditionally refuse every direct or indirect war service, and try to induce my friends to take the same stand, and this independent of any critical opinion of the causes of war."—*Professor Albert Einstein, Unity, May 5, 1930.*

Our Scolding Religion

Protestantism has been scattering precepts and scoldings from its pulpits, dropping pious tracts from the tower of Stylites, and calling men to come in out of the wicked world and be separate. So that it has come to be a common saying, "I'd rather go to hell in pleasant company."—*Charles H. Perry, Scribner's, March, 1930.*

Slaughter

The cattle went by my house as usual that morning. I heard as I heard every day, an hour or so before high noon, the shuffling of the many feet and the shrill cries of the drivers; noted, as noted every day, the drifting cloud of dust; and knew, as I knew every day, that another melancholy caravan had gone the way of death. This day, however, as I sat at table, I heard a second drove go by. There was the same shuffling of many feet, the same sharp cries and there, out of the window, the same drifting cloud of dust. "Some more cattle today?" I queried. "No," said my wife, "it's the soldier boys. They march by here once in a while you know!"—*John Haynes Holmes, Unity, April 21, 1930.*

Where Else?

It was when Christianity was in the catacombs as a despised and feared minority that it had its most glorious period in history. When it stopped being the faith of a minority, so deadly in earnest that they had to live underground, and became the superficial and conventional faith of a majority, the church lost its distinct Jesus-like character. Then began a series of accommodations, the heritage of which rendered it almost powerless in the face of waste of social waste, of individual exploitation and personal ostentation of all the elements in our civilization in fact which rendered it definitely anti-Christian. Our most urgent task is not the extension of Christianity as a conventional majority faith; it is rather the preservation of its essential Christian quality and purpose, the preservation of the power to look at the world with realistic eyes, to see where our ways of life deny the validity of Christ, and then fling ourselves against those pagan forces. It would cost terribly. It will lead us along the way of the cross. But where else could a road with Jesus lead?—*Halford E. Luccock in The Christianity of the Twentieth Century, July 30, 1930.*

War-Guilt Soundings

A Summary of 429 Opinions

KIRBY PAGE

THE sole guilt of Germany and her allies is maintained by only 48 persons out of 429 leaders of public opinion who replied to a questionnaire which I sent to some 1,200 men and women of various professions.

Less than half of those who responded express the opinion that Germany was more responsible for causing the World War than any other Power.

Cancellation of all war debts and reparation is opposed by less than half of those replying.

A total of 155 men and women hold the opinion that the United States acted unwisely in entering the World War or are in doubt about the expediency of this action.

Austria is ranked first in order of responsibility by 90 persons, Russia first by 39, France first by 15, Serbia first by 15, Great Britain first by two, and Rome (not Italy) by one person.

Out of a group of 100 professors of history only three uphold the theory of the sole guilt of Germany and her allies; 32 believe that Germany was more guilty than any other belligerent; 42 favor cancellation of war debts; and 65 think the United States acted wisely in entering the war. The names of these one hundred professors are given below, although the identity of their replies is not disclosed.

The 429 men and women who replied represent the following professions: 215 professors; 37 college presidents; 58 editors; 71 social workers, clergymen, etc.; 13 labor leaders; 22 lawyers and business men; 13 military and naval officers. The number of representatives of the last three groups is inadequate because only a small percentage of the persons whose opinions were sought cared to reply. Questionnaires were sent to 87 labor leaders, 137 bankers and financiers, 103 lawyers, and 98 military and naval officers.

The first group includes about 175 professors of history, 12 professors of international law, 17 deans of law schools. Among the well known educators in this group are John Dewey of Columbia, Dean O. K. McMurray of California, Dean Henry M. Bates of Michigan, E. W. Burgess of Chicago, Dean R. M. Davis of Kansas, Dean A. E. Evans of Kentucky, Dean J. M. Fegley of Arizona, Dean Harry A. Bigelow of Chicago, Dean H. H. Foster of Nebraska, Dean Everett Fraser of Minnesota, Dean Leon Green of Northwestern, Dean H. D. Sheldon of Oregon, and Dean H. R. Trusler of Florida.

The 37 college presidents include Ernest M. Hop-

kins of Dartmouth, Robert E. Swain of Stanford, Charles M. Snelling of Georgia, Wm. A. Neilson of Smith, John C. Futrell of Arkansas, Arnold B. Hall of Oregon, Harold S. Boardman of Maine, and Hamilton Holt of Rollins.

Included among the 58 editors are Ogden Reid of the New York *Herald Tribune*, William Allen White of Emporia, W. J. Abbot of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Julian S. Mason of the New York *Evening Post*, Ellery Sedgwick of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Hewitt H. Howland of the *Century*, Henry G. Leach of the *Forum*, George Ochs Oakes of *Current History*, Francis Rufus Bellamy of the *Outlook*, R. W. Bingham of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, W. Chamberlain of the Minneapolis *Journal*, Oswald Garrison Villard of the *Nation*, Wm. L. Chenery of *Colliers*, W. E. B. DuBois of the *Crisis*, Frank E. Gannett, and H. L. Mencken of the *American Mercury*.

The 71 social workers, clergymen, etc., include S. Parkes Cadman, Bishop Brewster of Maine, Dorothy Detzer of Washington, John Haynes Holmes of New York, Frederick J. Libby of Washington, Mary E. McDowell of Chicago, Wm. P. Merrill of New York, James Mullenbach of Chicago, Joseph Fort Newton of Philadelphia, Raymond Robins, L. S. Rowe of Washington, and James I. Vance of Nashville.

The list of business men, lawyers, and labor leaders includes James R. Mellon of Pittsburgh, former Supreme Court Justice J. H. Clarke, Robert A. Taft of Cincinnati, Allen Wardwell of New York, W. J. Funk of New York, Alonzo P. Weeks of Boston, Paul Scharrenberg of San Francisco, R. T. Bowden of Richmond, Paul O'Brien of Wyoming, Henry M. Donnelly of Providence, V. A. Olander of Chicago, Powers Hapgood of Colorado, James Maurer of Pennsylvania.

Seven major-generals, four brigadier-generals, and one rear-admiral responded, including C. R. Edwards, W. M. Black, William Crozier, B. H. Fuller, and Bradley A. Fiske.

BELOW is given a summary of the replies of a selected list of 100 professors of history and international relations. An effort was made to include in this list the best known men and women from the leading educational institutions of the country. It should be recognized, of course, that a different selection of names might have given a different result. The names of the one hundred are as follows, although the identity of their replies is not disclosed:

Frank Anderson, Dartmouth
 J. F. Baldwin, Vassar
 Harry Elmer Barnes, formerly
 Smith
 Charles A. Beard, formerly Co-
 lumbia
 Carl Becker, Cornell
 Herbert C. Bell, Wesleyan
 Gilbert G. Benjamin, Southern
 California
 Edwin Borchard, Yale
 C. S. Boucher, Chicago
 Philip M. Brown, Princeton
 W. W. Carson, DePauw
 C. E. Chapman, California
 E. A. Cheyney, Pennsylvania
 O. P. Chitwood, West Virginia
 Olynthus Clark, Drake
 Arthur C. Cole, Ohio
 Theodore Collier, Brown
 E. M. Coulter, Georgia
 Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern
 C. W. David, Bryn Mawr
 William E. Dodd, Chicago
 W. F. Dunaway, Penn State
 George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan
 C. C. Eckhardt, Colorado
 Eloise Ellery, Vassar
 Sidney B. Fay, Harvard
 Ralph H. Gabriel, Yale
 Milton R. Gutsch, Texas
 Royal G. Hall, Albion
 Walter P. Hall, Princeton
 Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia
 G. A. Hedges, Cincinnati
 Amos S. Hershey, Indiana
 Arthur H. Hirsch, Michigan
 F. H. Hodder, Kansas
 Halford L. Hoskins, Tufts
 H. A. Hubbard, Arizona
 H. C. Hubbard, Ohio Wesleyan
 William I. Hull, Swarthmore
 J. A. James, Northwestern
 L. H. Jenks, Rollins
 R. W. Kelsey, Haverford
 Laurence J. Kenny, St. Louis
 A. L. Kohlmeier, Indiana
 Irving S. Kull, Rutgers
 William E. Lingelbach, Pennsyl-
 vania
 Charles R. Lingley, Dartmouth
 Ella Lonn, Goucher
 Walter I. Lowe, Colgate
 Albert H. Lybyer, Illinois

GROUP OF 100 PROFESSORS

Do you believe that Germany and her allies were *solely* responsible for causing the World War?

Yes, 3; No, 95; In Doubt, 1; No Answer, 1.

Do you believe that Germany was *more* responsible than any other Power for causing the World War?

Yes, 32; No, 56; In Doubt, 11; No Answer, 1.

Wm. O. Lynch, Indiana
 W. C. Mallalieu, Louisville
 P. A. Martin, Stanford
 Ross H. McLean, Emory
 John A. McChrystal, Marquette
 Donald L. McMurry, Lafayette
 J. E. Miller, Montana
 S. C. Mitchell, Richmond
 Paul Monroe, Barnard
 Parker T. Moon, Columbia
 David R. Moore, Oberlin
 Richard L. Morton, William and
 Mary
 John Musser, New York
 David S. Muzzey, Columbia
 Julia Swift Orvis, Wellesley
 Frank L. Owsley, Vanderbilt
 Laurence B. Packard, Amherst
 Clarence Perkins, North Dakota
 H. G. Plum, Iowa
 Pitman B. Potter, Wisconsin
 Elford C. Preston, Idaho
 Robert K. Richardson, Beloit
 J. Fred Rippy, Duke
 Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford
 Howard Robinson, Miami
 Louis M. Sears, Purdue
 Ferdinand Schevill, Chicago
 A. M. Schlesinger, Harvard
 Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Chicago
 Charles Seymour, Yale
 Henry Noble Sherwood, Ken-
 tucky
 W. H. Siebert, Ohio
 Preston W. Slosson, Michigan
 Daniel C. Stanwood, Bowdoin
 F. F. Stephens, Missouri
 Frederic L. Thompson, Amherst
 E. S. Talbert, Cincinnati
 Amy E. Textor, Vassar
 D. Y. Thomas, Arkansas
 Raymond Turner, Johns Hop-
 kins
 Edward Tuthill, Kentucky
 R. G. Usher, Washington
 Wm. T. Utter, Denison
 Jonas Viles, Missouri
 H. M. Wagstaff, North Carolina
 S. L. Ware, Sewanee
 Laura H. Wild, Wellesley
 William J. Wilkinson, Colby
 Carl Wittke, Ohio
 Warner F. Woodring, Allegheny

Do you favor all round cancellation of war debts and reparation?

Yes, 42; No, 43; In Doubt, 15.

In the light of all the evidence now available, do you think the United States acted wisely in entering the war against Germany?

Yes, 65; No, 14; In Doubt, 21.

IT is interesting to compare or contrast the consensus of opinion of these men and women, who presumably have made a more intensive study of the evidence, with the replies of other groups. For instance, only three out of 100 of these professors maintain the theory of the sole guilt of Germany and her allies, as compared with nine out of 13 military and naval officers, eight lawyers and business men out of 22, seven college presidents out of 37, and 11 editors out of 58. A similar contrast is apparent in the replies as to whether or not Germany was more responsible than any other Power and with regard to the cancellation of war debts.

Sole Guilt of Germany

MANY interesting and significant comments were made by various persons who replied. A leading banker writes: "I was always of the opinion that Germany was solely responsible for starting the War, from many instances that came to my attention during the time that the War was coming on." A city editor agrees, with emphasis: "There is no doubt about it. There would have been no war if Germany hadn't started it, so why should I list degrees of responsibility." A Brigadier-General says: "I believe Germany was preparing for war for twenty-five years, and when preparations were as nearly perfect as human skill could make them, she struck." A dean of a state law school writes: "I believe the German junkers were waiting for a pretext to start war. No other nation would have started in 1914." A college president writes: "Armed to the teeth, Germany refused the last pleas of England for discussion and arbitration. . . Am sending enclosed a copy of my pamphlet . . printed early in 1915 in all the principal languages of the world, which contains the proof of the facts stated above."

The president of an important women's organization takes an entirely different position on this question. "After close study of the situation both before and after the War, my judgment is that the remote and therefore the real cause of the War was religious . . . Rome! Ungrounded jealousies and fears existing between France and her allies and Germany; this was insidiously fostered and propagated by Rome. . . suggest study of 'Actio Catholica.'"

Rank of Responsibility

MANY of those who responded felt it unwise to attempt the gradation of the Powers in order of responsibility for the war. "A silly thing to do!" exclaims one publicist, while a professor says: "It seems

429 Replies to Questionnaire Concerning
Responsibility for the World War

	Total Replying	Yes	No	In Doubt	No Answer
Do you believe that Germany and her allies were <i>solely</i> responsible for causing the World War?					
Summary of all responding	429	48	364	10	7
Professors	215	8	197	7	3
College Presidents	37	7	30	0	0
Editors	58	11	44	0	3
Social Workers, Clergymen, etc.	71	3	65	2	1
Labor Leaders	13	2	11	0	0
Lawyers and Business Men	22	8	13	1	0
Military and Naval Officers	13	9	4	0	0
Do you believe that Germany was <i>more</i> responsible than any other Power for causing the World War?					
Summary of all responding	429	209	152	56	12
Professors	215	98	89	26	2
College Presidents	37	25	6	5	1
Editors	58	35	14	8	1
Social Workers, Clergymen, etc.	71	26	27	14	4
Labor Leaders	13	2	7	3	1
Lawyers and Business Men	22	14	6	0	2
Military and Naval Officers	13	9	3	0	1
Do you favor all round cancellation of war debts and reparation?					
Summary of all responding	429	155	286	58	10
Professors	215	72	104	37	2
College Presidents	37	14	15	4	4
Editors	58	20	33	5	0
Social Workers, Clergymen, etc.	71	37	25	7	2
Labor Leaders	13	5	6	2	0
Lawyers and Business Men	22	6	12	2	2
Military and Naval Officers	13	1	11	1	0
In the light of all the evidence now available, do you think that the United States acted wisely in <i>entering the war</i> against Germany?					
Summary of all responding	429	274	80	70	5
Professors	215	140	28	46	1
College Presidents	37	27	4	4	2
Editors	58	40	9	9	0
Social Workers, Clergymen, etc.	71	28	32	10	1
Labor Leaders	13	7	6	0	0
Lawyers and Business Men	22	19	1	1	1
Military and Naval Officers	13	13	0	0	0

me as nearly idle as any exercise I could take." A clergyman writes: "I have not figured out the details!" A considerable number of replies, however, rank the Powers in order of responsibility. A total of 99 thought Germany was more responsible than any other nation. Austria was placed first by 90, Russia by 69, France by 55, Serbia by 15, Great Britain by two, and Rome by one.

Russia was placed second by 64, Austria by 58, Germany by 44, France by 28, Serbia by 14, Great Britain by eight.

Russia was accorded third rank by 68, France by 49, Germany by 33, Austria by 21, Great Britain by 10, Serbia by eight, Belgium by one.

Fourth place was given to France by 57, Great Britain by 26, Germany by 24, Russia by 12, Austria by eight, Serbia by six, Italy by two, Japan by two. Great Britain received 46 votes for fifth place and 24

for sixth or last place. Scattered votes were cast for other Powers in these positions.

Debt Cancellation

A LEADING banker says: "I do not favor cancellation of any of the war debts and reparation. They are just and should stand." A university president writes: "Cancellation is no way to settle such obligations—and most certainly not the way while staggering budgets are continued for war purposes—as in France and other countries conspicuously." The editor of a religious journal writes: "Cancellation would release reserves for further military expenditure. The reparation payments seem to me to be simply justice to devastated France." A history professor exclaims: "Absolutely not, so long as the European, especially the Gallic mind and heart, remain unchanged in character." In similar mood writes an editor: "Until Eu-

rope exhibits a more chastened spirit, the war debts provide American efforts for pacification or disarmament with a very convenient handle."

On the affirmative side a law school dean says: "On the whole, it would be better to cancel now. In the end that will be the result, at least indirectly, if not directly. Those who have must pay." An editor of a daily newspaper writes: "Certainly, since it is obvious that these debts never will be collected and will remain sources of danger to peace as long as they exist. Another editor says: "Yes: the instant and cumulative effect of cancellation would be, I think, a release of energies and rehabilitation now dormant under weight of 'what's the use.'" A professor of history writes: "It is not only idealistic and humanitarian, but in the long run will be sound business policy." A college president says: "Yes. I do not believe Germany can pay reparation without such sweating of labor, etc., as would disorganize her society. I should seek some reduction of warlike preparations on Europe's part, although not as a condition of debt-cancellation."

The United States and the War

As to whether the United States acted wisely in entering the war, a major-general writes: "For many years it has been my belief that the autocratic ruling class of Germany felt their powers and privileges were imperilled by the existence and prosperity of a people like that of the United States, and that in self-protection sooner or later they would attempt to destroy an example so full of menace to their own position. In addition, Germany's utter disregard of American rights on the high seas could not be tolerated."

Another major-general writes that "there has never been a period in the history of the globe when there has been room thereon for the *peaceable* expansion of two first-class would-be commercial powers. Let those who now seek expansion of the foreign trade of the U. S. in manufactured articles take due heed."

A well known professor of international law says: "To have refused to accept the insolent challenge made by Germany to the United States to stay off the sea would have branded the United States as a nation of cowards unwilling to place right before might. Our motto is not 'Peace at any price.'" A professor of history at a state institution writes: "Yes, national dignity and honor required us to fight. Nothing else for a self-respecting nation to do; we should have entered even sooner than we did."

A well known editor says: "No great nation can 'lie down' forever under the slaughter of her citizens on the high seas. To do so is to incur a fatal loss of prestige, which ultimately means repeated encroachments on national rights until sovereignty is totally whittled away." Another editor writes: "Yes. It ended the war at least a year earlier. Cost us little in

the way of lives and left us in a strong position, without the odium of being concerned only in making money out of the warring peoples' necessities and putting up with anything so long as we could continue to profit." A distinguished professor of history says: "Yes. I do not believe that the Peace of Versailles was as bad for the world as the Peace of Berlin would have been."

An outstanding lawyer writes: "Yes. Our school children would be studying German industriously if our government had not gone in." The editor of a metropolitan daily exclaims: "She had to! If she hadn't democracy would be paying for it." A labor leader writes: "We would not want the militarism of Germany saddled on the world and so she had to be defeated." A professor of history at a state university exclaims: "Certainly! I wish, however, that Providence had so arranged conditions that France would have been completely wiped out before Germany was overpowered." Concerning the wisdom of America's entrance into the war, a head of a department of history writes: "A perfectly asinine question and something worse. What evidence? Barnes et al. are not trustworthy." A professor of history at a state university writes: "I lean a little toward a Yes to the question. While we were not fighting for 'Liberty', etc., we had a situation we could hardly avoid meeting, and we came out of the war with greater prestige and power than otherwise we might have had."

We Should Have Stayed Out

The editor of a metropolitan daily writes: "A trying to debunk my mind of all war-time propaganda, my honest conclusion is that we had no business in belatedly entering the World War." A distinguished clergyman says: "The United States made a fatal mistake in entering the war against Germany. Had we refused to enter, the war would have ended in the summer of 1917 with a 'peace without victory.'" A college president writes: "Had the United States not entered the war, a negotiated peace would have probably been concluded, and the fantastic injustices of the Treaty of Versailles have been avoided." A similar reply is given by a man who was imprisoned as a conscientious objector: "No! We could have avoided the disastrous peace by inviting other neutrals in forcing a negotiated peace."

A Quaker writes: "By our entry we prolonged the war probably two years and prevented a 'peace without victory.' If the secret treaties had been generally known, the United States would probably never have entered the war." A professor of history says: "At the times of a malicious propaganda, the American people were swept off their feet, while their leaders betrayed them." Another professor of history: "Of all the Powers entering the war, America had the least

do so. It was all a ghastly spiritual and economic and political blunder." Still another professor of history says: "It was not our war. President Wilson might have managed differently. At the end of January, 1917, we were already committed in case Germany should resume general submarine activities."

A nationally known editor exclaims: "No! It was monumental fraud. We had no business in it." A contemporary is even more emphatic: "No! The curse of the United States, it seems to me, was dishonest, cowardly and knavish." A distinguished professor of law says: "I think entering the war was the greatest mistake in American history. Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries showed greater wisdom and enjoy greater respect."

The Advisability of Such Discussions

SEVERAL persons seriously question the validity of my procedure in sending out these questions. "I think you are doing a disservice to international welfare by raising the question," writes a well known professor of political science. "The responsibilities for using the War and the causes which led to the War are or were too numerous to make the question of any importance from the point of view of practical politics. . . I am literally astounded that you should become involved with such a fruitless matter as the war-guilt controversy."

A professor of history writes: "I regret that you have undertaken such a survey and propose to publish the result, especially if you propose to build any argument upon a matter of policy on the supposed facts as disclosed by your survey. You will, I believe if you ponder the matter carefully, see that nearly all of those to whom you send your questionnaire, who believe that the Central Powers have been charged with more than their actual share of responsibility, will reply to you, while many of those who hold the contrary view will not reply. The result then is likely to be seriously misleading. This state of affairs is perhaps to be regretted, but it exists and you can't overcome it." Another professor writes: "I do protest against your methods. These are questions of fact to be determined from evidence, not of opinion to be settled by majorities." Still another professor says: "Let me register my feeling that much of this discussion is increasing instead of clearing the world disturbance."

In presenting this summary of the replies, I have carefully refrained from expressing any opinion as to their importance. My purpose has been solely to reflect accurately the replies which were received and to indicate the type of persons who responded. The Editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW will welcome comments from its readers as to the meaning and significance of these opinions. Is further discussion of the war-guilt question advisable?

Symposium on War Responsibility

Rome Davis, Professor, Yale Divinity School.

The question of World War guilt will in the end be settled by careful documentary evidence rather than opinion. Nevertheless, THE WORLD TOMORROW has rendered an invaluable service in publishing the attitudes of 429 leaders of public opinion on the question. It is heartening to see that today only three professors hold the theory of the sole guilt of Germany and her allies. It would be interesting if we could compare this total with a vote taken during the War. In spite of the progress undoubtedly made in reaching conclusions based on the facts, many replies still reflect emotional attitudes whipped up during the conflict. What would be said of the wisdom of a World War to crush Germany if the vote of the most distinguished professors of history in the United States is now 56 to 32 that Germany was not more responsible than any other power for causing the conflict? Yet the same professors vote 65 to 14 (with 21 in doubt) that the United States was wise in entering the War against Germany. Leaders who actively championed war in 1916 hesitate to confess to the world that they were wrong, even in 1930. We now know that the War cost over 25 million dead and that Germany was probably not much more responsible than Russia, but we still cling to the righteousness of the Allied cause and to a "holier than thou" attitude. Your article is admirable material for a study in social pathology and in sociology.

W. E. B. Du Bois, Editor, *The Crisis*.

I think your questionnaire on war guilt is important for two reasons: first, it shows that intelligent human beings change their minds. I know this is true in my own case. I knew something of German militarism and greatly feared it. I did not know as much then as I do now about the manipulations of the English and French in international intrigue; and with millions of others I was swept off my feet during the World War by the emotional response of America to what seemed a great call to duty. Even today the camouflage of military glamor is being drawn over the nasty mess again, but the gathering of honest and well-founded opinions, such as you have made, must give hope for the future.

Bertrand Russell, Philosopher and Writer.

The summary of opinions on the War is very interesting. I have not studied the documents that have appeared in recent years as carefully as I should, and the only effect of those I have studied has been to make me attach more responsibility to Serbia than I did in 1914. I do not think anyone who has impartially studied the facts can regard Germany as solely responsible, but I also do not think that the degree of responsibility attaching to different nations can be assessed. All were responsible, as all will be for the next war. I see no reason why the United States should cancel war debts. The money will in any case be used for armament.

ments—American, if the debts are not cancelled, European, if they are. As to whether the United States did well to enter the War, the question turns upon whether otherwise peace would have come in 1917. I believe myself that it would. The main thing to be aimed at was to shorten the War; the next, to secure a peace without victory on either side. America's entry, in my opinion, did harm in both respects.

John Haynes Holmes, Minister, Community Church, New York City.

Think of what answers your questions would have brought forth had they been presented one year, two years, even five years, after the War! Then look at your summary and see 86 per cent of your correspondents agreeing that Germany and her Allies were not solely responsible for the War, 36 per cent denying that Germany was more responsible than any other power for causing the War, and nearly 19 per cent asserting that the United States did not act wisely in entering the War. Nothing can stop this trend. These answers show that sources of information have been opened from which truth will flow to the very end. I am reading your tables of figures as prophecies of the future. Give us another decade or two, and these answers will be unanimous. No man will be willing to proclaim himself so ignorant, unintelligent, or blindly prejudiced, as to believe the myths of war-time.

Norman Thomas, Publicist and Lecturer.

It is important for us to consider the general question of war guilt and the special question whether the United States ought to have entered the War because an understanding of the past may greatly help us in the future. Therefore I think your symposium is a public service. It shows a gratifying subsidence within the last ten years of waves of popular hysteria. I gather, however, that the cause of straight thinking has still further to go. My own opinion is that the degree of responsibility for the World War as between the different nations cannot be settled with mathematical precision. Certainly not at this time. The important fact is that they were all guilty and that the War was caused by imperialism rather than German imperialism. I think we could have far better served humanity by staying out of the War than by going in. We were driven in less by the failure of Wilson statesmanship than by the degree of American economic participation on the side of the Allies. One conception of my belief on this subject is a growing conviction that the best thing to do with war debts and reparations is to wipe the slate clean.

James T. Shotwell, Professor, Columbia University.

In response to your request for a comment upon the questionnaire on war guilt, I should confine myself entirely to a question of method. The problem of war guilt is distinctly and definitely a problem of history and the only method which is pertinent is the historical method. That method is violated from first to last by the present inquiry. It is not possible to establish historical truth by asking for opinions about it even among those who are regarded as well informed contemporaries. A controversy such as this rests upon historical evidence and only those who have studied that evidence are competent to pass judgment. The question to be asked of your politicians, your busy editors and your labor leaders, and equally of your historians, is whether they have actually considered the problem as a historical problem, or whether they have come to conclusions based either upon the opinions of others or upon the political tendencies of their own way of thinking. The first requi-

site of historical research is to get back to primary sources and subordinate all secondary sources to them. Secondary sources in this case are the derived opinions of those who have read only a few manuals or who have welcomed conclusions consonant with their personal outlook. To add up the sum total of the uninformed and the informed, the scientifically-minded and the ethically inclined, and to express this total as though it were a scientific judgment is misleading and unscientific.*

Mary E. McDowell, Director, University of Chicago Settlement.

I have always held within my own secret self that all of us who believed before 1914 that violence was an effective method of settling differences and grievances between nations were the offenders. The Kaiser, Czar, Ministers of Foreign Affairs were the tools of this false opinion of a day before the better methods were suggested. Today we have the marvelous beginnings of reasonable ways out which we did not have in the past. Our task is to educate a public to believe in these methods of reason, of ciliation, of negotiation and arbitration, and then a new man will be created with a new *will* in the world towards reason and not violence, in prevention of the awfulness of 1914.

Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union.

I find myself as a radical pacifist and Marxist impatient with questions as to what capitalist nation was responsible for the World War. It should be obvious even to a reactionary that economic rivalry caused the War. The world of profit-seeking was armed to the teeth then as now to protect trade investments. It is accidental and immaterial as to what particular incident started the last war—or causes the next one. War is inherent in armament to protect national profit-making. If the cancellation of War debts and reparations would lift from the people the crushing burden of the War, I would favor cancelling them at once. But cancellation would far more likely only release funds for armament for the next war. Not until the western world turns its back on the present mad race for power can any international agreement for cancelling debts serve the peoples. The United States was forced into the World War by its controlling business interests to protect its heavy loans to the Allies. The War would have ended far sooner and better if we had kept out. "Peace without victory" was the one sane slogan.

A. Fenner Brockway, Member of Parliament.

It is significant that only one-ninth of those who replied to the symposium on war guilt should maintain the sole responsibility of Germany and her Allies. I do not know how any informed person can now hold this view. I do not think the question of the balance of responsibility will ever be settled. Germany's share was indeed great, but so was that of Russia, Britain, and France. If the charge that Germany was solely responsible was a lie, then the clauses of the Peace Treaty reflecting this view are the embodiment of a lie, and all honest people will desire to see the repudiated and the clauses revised. Among the chief of these is the imposition of reparations upon Germany. This should have been terminated at once. German territory is, happily, no longer occupied by the victorious troops, but the other restrictions upon Germany imposed under the treaties should be withdrawn. A new generation may be able to create a healthier atmosphere of equality.

*Editors' Note:—See editorial on page 389 of this issue.

in Europe whether this generation has the decency to face the issue or not; but the coming of this atmosphere would be enormously hastened if the victorious powers would do the clean thing and recognize their share of the guilt for the War.

Ellen C. Wilkinson, Member of Parliament.

It seems so old-fashioned to hear people discussing in 1930 whether the War was the sole guilt of Germany—so old-fashioned at it makes one impatient. Surely it is obvious to anyone who ads any history at all that the War was the clash between pitalist nations and arose out of the confliction of the capitalist stem, just as the next war will do. The horror at the back of y mind is that we are sliding towards a war between this country and the United States, in spite of all the protestations on th sides of the Atlantic that it is impossible. The same forces at made a war between Germany and England are now making similar conditions between this country and America.

Robert Morss Lovett, Editor, *The New Republic*.

Although I admit the force of the arguments of those who ke the position that the debts of the Allies to the United States e contractual obligations which should be discharged, I have me to feel, in view of the situation of the whole world, that y ruin lies. Moreover, the United States accepted by the Armistice tain obligations to Germany. Our unfulfilled promises con- crite a stain on our national honor. One of these promises was at there should be no indemnities. The sophistry by which Wilson justified the economic sum of the reparations was a dis- ace to intelligence and a repudiation of good faith. The only way which the United States can redeem its word, and in one par- ticular rectify the evil wrought by the Treaty of Versailles, is cancel the war debts on condition that other nations do likewise. is we should do for the sake of our own safety, well-being and tional honor.

Henry T. Hodgkin, Author and Educator.

The fact that Germany's sole guilt for the War was written to the treaty which she was forced to sign is one of the major geries of history. In a recent visit to Germany I realized v deeply this fact has entered into the soul of the country. is convinced that she was compelled to sign a lie—that on that is based all the structure of post-war Europe, reparations, and forth. It is too soon to hope for any international instrument undo the wrong and it is doubtful if such could ever be accepted ong the nations. That being so, I do not feel sure that much be expected from the reopening of the issue. If the heads of e of the states signing the treaty could publicly assert their conviction of the untruth of this statement, something might achieved. Your replies show that even among leading persons

Whenever They So Will

The one thing that is clear is that the responsibility for maintaining peace in Europe depends now upon the former Allies rather than upon Germany. As long as the injus- cies of Versailles continue, so long will they keep peace in jeopardy. The Allies can remove the jeopardy whenever they so will.—*Editorial, in the Financial Chronicle (New York City), August 30, 1930.*

in this country there is still so much difference of opinion as to make such an assertion very improbable.

H. L. Mencken, Editor, *The American Mercury*.

The response of the historians to your questionnaire does not surprise me, but neither does it give me any satisfaction, though I agree with the view now apparently prevailing among them, save as to your last question. Most of these men disgraced themselves beyond recovery during the late War. Throwing overboard their professional honor and common decency, they served as willing jenkinses of the Creel Press Bureau. No more shameful proceeding was witnessed during the War, and nothing they can do now can wipe out the record.

John A. Lapp, former President, National Conference of Social Work.

The best time to discuss war guilt is the present. Why wait a century and then review it as antiquarian when the time for the usefulness of the facts has passed? If this generation was misled, let this generation know about it. The reaction against vicious propaganda will be more forcible now than a century hence when nobody cares about the dead past. Wars will be pre- vented by our understanding of the way international hatreds are fomented and spread.

Lewis S. Gannett, Editorial Writer, *New York Herald Tribune*.

These replies seem to suggest that the world does move after all. At least the world changes its mind—when it is too late to do anything about it. What consequences do your correspondents draw from their revised opinions? Is war guilt just an antique historical question to them, or do they realize that the whole Treaty of Versailles is based upon the fiction which 381 of your 429 "leaders of public opinion" now reject? Germany is doomed to continue paying billions per year unless their change of opinion somehow translates itself into a change of world diplomacy. (Of course, if we were really honest, we would admit that war guilt had nothing to do with it at all; the Germans have to pay, not because they were guilty but because they were beaten.) Let's not be too optimistic about this change of heart until we have some evidence that these "leaders of public opinion" are really leading.

Henry Kittredge Norton, Author and Publicist.

Your questionnaire is most interesting. I have some reservations however, as to the framing of the questions. As they stand, they suggest that if the first two are answered "No", then we were unwise to enter the War and should cancel the debts—a simple non-sequitur. The second question might well have been followed by one as to whether Germany "was among those primarily responsible." The distinction has a direct bearing upon the last two questions. As it is, the figures are an invitation to mis- interpretation, an invitation which I fear you have yourself ac- cepted in your opening paragraphs. You say: "Less than half of those who responded express the opinion that Germany was more responsible" and "Cancellation of all war debts and reparation is opposed by less than half of those replying." Surely it would be more accurate to say: "A large majority of those answering the question thought Germany more responsible, only a few more than a third of those responding considering her less responsible" and, on the other question, "A large majority of those answering the question were against cancellation, only

a few more than a third of those replying favoring it." This more exact statement of the results gives precisely the opposite impression from yours.*

J. M. Clark, Professor, Columbia University.

I take it the results of your questionnaire are to be construed, not so much as evidence on the objective facts as a test of the state of opinion among a group made up primarily of intellectuals. It is significant, though not wholly unexpected, that such a group shows so much open-mindedness on issues which were hardly matters of calm and impartial judgment during the War. I could wish that in your own introductory summary you had not let your own leanings (with which I wholly sympathize) lead you to a classification which impliedly counts all the doubtfuls on what may be called the "liberal" side. When you say: "Less than half of those who responded express the opinion that Germany was more responsible—than any other power," you appear to be coloring the result of a vote which stood 209 for conviction, 152 for acquittal, 56 doubtful. As to the cancellation (or readjustment) of war debts and reparations, two considerations seem to stand out: (1) if the debts, via their effect on the poverty of European governments, have any material effect in increasing their willingness to take measures for peace and the reduction of armaments, that is a mitigating circumstance of enormous weight; (2) in the long run, it cannot be good for nations to be bound for generations to pay tribute to each other, not based on loans of capital serving actually to increase national economic productiveness.*

Mrs. Ben Hooper, Chairman, Dept. of International Relations, General Federation of Women's Clubs.

I think that "War-Guilt Soundings" is most illuminating for the person who has not studied the problem. Anyone who has made any great study of the causes of war knows that in the past it has been quite impossible to know who was responsible for the starting of wars. Practically every country in the world has signed the Pact of Paris, pledging itself never to go to war to settle any trouble between itself and any other nation. The country that refuses to go into court, to accept arbitration, conciliation or any other peaceful means of settling its international troubles, is the aggressor. It no longer belongs to the family of nations and is of necessity an outlaw in the world.

William B. Munro, Professor, Harvard University.

The question of the war guilt belongs to the paleontology of international politics and little is to be gained by a further discussion of it. Of course Germany was not *solely* to blame for the great European catastrophe. No single nation ever is, or can be, alone responsible for a world conflict. The fundamental blame for the great war attaches to all the nations of Europe, for they were all participants (though perhaps unequally) in the militarism, navalism, secret diplomacy, alliances and ententes, jealousies and suspicions which decade after decade accumulated the arsenal of T. N. T. to be touched off at Sarajevo. Germany's major blame arises, to my mind, from the fact that she was right in the vanguard of all this. To cancel the Allied debts would be to teach Europe the worst sort of lesson. One way to avoid future wars is to have the old continent realize that carnage is the surest route to national impoverishment.

Mary Austin, Author and Publicist.

I have looked over your report on the War-Guilt Soundings with disappointment. I have always felt that the question of degrees and actualities of war guilt ought to have been inquiry into more thoroughly. But of all the methods of arriving at an estimate of human guilt or absence of guilt, it seems to me that the tabulating of anonymous opinions is the least dependable. There must be criteria of social guilt which are more than mere opinion, which perhaps have nothing to do with the opinions on one way or the other. For myself, I do not greatly care by whose particular responsibility the war trouble came to a head. What I should like to know is why and how the trouble arose, as since it did arise why was it that war seemed to be the only solution. It does not seem to me that the questions you have asked nor the sum total of the answers throw any light on the essential question.

John Palmer Gavit, Associate Editor, *The Survey*.

Attribution to Germany of "exclusive guilt" for the War and always was silly, hypocritical and outrageous; but to ascribe the "guilt" relatively among the participants is, as from its futility, a task beyond human intelligence—certainly so regards the present generation. The question of the cancellation of the war-debts is one of the most difficult and abstruse of economic problems, concerning which the opinion of the average person, including nine out of ten of the persons whom you ask and particularly including myself, is not worth the paper required to print it. As for the timeliness or expediency of our participation in the War—discussion of it now seems to me as academic and futile as that about the Johnstown Flood, or whether San Francisco would have been better off now had the earthquake been postponed or omitted. The fact is that we did go in, and are now bogged in the consequences, but nobody alive knows what difference it would have made if we hadn't.

John S. Ewart, Canadian Author and Publicist.

In my opinion any person who still maintains the theory of the war guilt of Germany and her allies merely displays ignorance of the post-war literature. I would suggest to these readers consideration of an entry in Mr. Asquith's diary in date August 1, 1914: "Sir W. Tyrell arrived with a long message from Berlin to the effect that the German Ambassador's efforts for peace had been suddenly arrested and frustrated by the Czar decree for a complete Russian mobilization. We all set to work, Tyrell, Bongie, Sir Maurice Bonham-Carter, Drummond and myself, to draft a direct personal appeal from the King to the Czar. When we had settled it I called a taxi and in company with Tyrell drove to Buckingham Palace at about 1.30 A.M. The King hauled out of bed, and one of my strangest experiences was sitting with him, clad in a dressing gown, while I read the message and the proposed answer." Let them read too the King's message to the Czar if they know where to find it.

The Demolition Has Begun!

Concerning the radical changes which have already been made in the Treaty of Versailles, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says: "No great diplomatic instrument has ever been so speedily modified, revised or altered, whether by tacit consent or by deliberate design."—Fourteenth Edition, Volume 23, p. 95.

* Author's note: To say that a large plurality of the replies hold Germany more responsible than any other power is true but not at all surprising; whereas the statement that less than half of those responding regard Germany as more responsible is startling—and equally true! Which form is better journalism? An attempt was made to avoid wrong interpretations by publishing the detailed figures.

Charles Edward Russell, Author and Journalist.

In a certain sense, all nations were guilty of the World War, or all had tolerated the competitive social system, always provocative of war. Aside from this, every person that with attention has studied pre-war conditions and tendencies in Europe knows that the imperial government of Germany was the chief culprit. To assert anything else, one must totally ignore history, 1874, Bismarck, Algeciras, Zabern, the vast and perfect preparation, the plain record of the diplomatic correspondence, the plain fact of Germany's imperialistic lust for a port on the Atlantic. This does not mean the culpability of the German people except for offering the imperial delusion that made war inevitable. The attempt to fasten upon France any share of the direct and immediate guilt is the world's record in brazen effrontery. The guilt of France was the guilt of a man that tries to defend his household against midnight marauders.

Norman Angell, Editor and Member of Parliament.

If the energy and scholarship which has been devoted to discovering *who* was responsible for the war had been devoted to finding *what* was responsible—what particular defects of human understanding or in the organization of human society—the result could have been more useful to the world. The assignment “guilt” or “innocence” to a whole nation in the matter of war, accepts and perpetrates some of the basic fallacies out of which the trouble arises. War is not due to the consciously evil purpose of wicked men or nations attempting to victimize good men or nations. That is not the nature of the problem. In our world of national sovereignties and independencies, where the security of one is the insecurity of another, the danger of war arises more from honest and sincere but narrow-visioned patriotism than from any conscious wickedness of “scheming diplomats”. Did Germany plan the war?” seems to me an utterly meaningless question—as meaningless as the question whether people who are on the north side of the street are better than those who are on the south side. Sixty-five millions of men, women, and children, of differing ideas, creeds, classes cannot make an entity in which we can attribute the kind of responsibility implicit in the question. Many of these as in the other nations in somewhat similar proportions, were driven, doubtless, by false ideas and certain evil forces. In what way were the ideas false and the forces evil? That is the question we should ask.

Lucia Ames Mead, Author and Publicist.

The questionnaire is valuable as showing significant changes of opinion since 1914-1920. The War came from false premises and confused thought in the five most educated and “Christian” nations. There was another course which superior statesmanship could have proposed: insistence that our entry into war was conditional on the Allies’ proclaiming that they would take no land from their offering a negotiated peace. In April, 1917, Germany could probably have consented in order to prevent our entrance. peace without victory would have saved millions of lives and proved the futility of force.

J. Muste, Brookwood Labor College.

Yes, further discussion of the war-guilt question, debt cancellation, etc., is eminently desirable. To refuse to answer questions and participate in discussions of such controversial matters is the usual strategy of those who stand by the official and accepted viewpoint. By hushing up discussion they expect to have their viewpoint prevail, and they do—if they succeed in keeping the mouths of dissidents shut. The only remedy is for protestants to

protest, to keep the discussion alive as they have always done. We can certainly stand a heap more discussion of the questions you raise when only 8 out of 215 professors accept the sole-guilt-of-Germany theory on which the whole war was premised; yet 140 out of these 215 sages think the United States acted wisely in entering this same war!

It would be interesting to see how the replies of the labor leaders would have stacked up if a larger percentage of them had come in. The replies you got probably came from the more intelligent ones, at any rate those most conversant with such general issues as you raised. The replies reflect accurately, I think, the opinion of such labor men and women throughout the country—disbelief in the sole guilt of Germany or the greater guilt of Germany, hopeless division of opinion as to cancellation of war debts, and a vast amount of doubt as to the wisdom of our entrance.*

A War Guilt Who's Who

The writers who have dealt with the general problem of War responsibility may be divided into three classes: (1) the bitter-enders; (2) the salvagers; and (3) the revisionists. . . . The *bitter-enders* are those who adhere essentially to the wartime views of the exclusive responsibility of the Central Powers for the World War. The leading members of this group are . . . Charles Downer Hazen, E. Raymond Turner, William Stearns Davis, Earl E. Sperry, and Frank Maloy Anderson. The *salvagers* represent writers who cite the latest documentary references bearing upon the problem of War responsibility, but still cling to the view that the Central Powers were primarily responsible for the coming of the World War. The leading salvagers are Pierre Renouvin, R. B. Mowat, Bernadotte Schmitt, Charles Seymour, Preston W. Slosson, M. T. Florinsky, and Eugen Fischer. . . . The *revisionists* are divided into two camps. The moderate group believe that the major guilt in 1914 attaches to the Entente, but they believe that the Central Powers must be assigned some responsibility. Among the *moderate revisionists* we should have to list Sidney B. Fay, R. J. Kerner, J. F. Scott, P. T. Moon, J. S. Ewart, Hermann Lutz, G. Lowes Dickinson, G. P. Gooch. . . . The more *uncompromising revisionists* hold that, though Germany and Austria lacked adroitness in 1914, neither desired a European war and that the moral justification involved in the Austrian attack upon Serbia and the German support of Austria was far greater than that of Russia in attacking Austria and of France in supporting Russia. They also hold that the primary military responsibility for the War is to be found in the premature general mobilization of the Russian army. This group is made up of such writers as . . . Raymond Beazley, Ferdinand Schevill, W. E. Lingelbach, W. L. Langer, A. H. Lybyer, Joseph Ward Swain, Frederick Bausman, and the present writer. Of course, this classification is not exact and precise. There is considerable variation of opinion within each group of writers and the borderline is not sharp or distinct. Writers like Fay, Dickinson, Lutz, and Ewart might be listed as conservative members of the extreme revisionist group quite as justly as to be placed as radical members of the moderate revisionists.—*Harry Elmer Barnes, World Politics in Modern Civilization, pp. 452-454.*

* The Editors will welcome further discussion of the war-guilt question.

Found Guilty!

Article 231, Treaty of Versailles

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Secretary Lansing's Commission

The War was premeditated by the Central Powers together with their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, and was the result of acts deliberately committed in order to make it unavoidable.—*Report of the Allied Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War.*

The Allies' Ultimatum

"... The outbreak of the War was deliberately plotted and executed by those who wielded the supreme power in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin... the peace-loving nations of Western Europe were gradually driven, under a series of crises provoked from Berlin, to come together in self-defense... it was the fear of the rulers of Germany lest their plans for universal domination should be brought to naught by the rising tide of democracy, that drove them to endeavor to overcome all resistance at one stroke by plunging Europe into universal war... she planned and started the war which caused the massacre and mutilation of millions and the ravaging of Europe from end to end."—*The Allies ultimatum in response to the German reply.*

Clemenceau's Covering Note

In the view of the Allied and Associated Powers the war which began on August 1st, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and the freedom of peoples that any nation, calling itself civilized has ever consciously committed... they (the rulers of Germany) required that they should be able to dictate and tyrannize to a subservient Europe... The World War was inevitable for which they had plotted, and for which alone among the nations they were fully equipped and prepared. Germany's responsibility, however, is not confined to having planned and started the war... a crime against humanity and right... justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war.—*Covering Note of the President of the Peace Conference.*

Lloyd George

For the Allies German responsibility for the war is fundamental. It is the basis upon which the structure of the Treaty has been erected, and if that acknowledgment is repudiated or abandoned

the Treaty is destroyed. . . . We wish therefore once and for all to make it quite clear that German responsibility for the war must be treated by the Allies as a *chose jugée*.—*On March 1921 before the London Conference.*

Poincaré

Indeed, if the Central Powers did not start the War, who should they be condemned to pay the damages? If responsibility is divided then, as a matter of necessity and justice, the costs must also be divided!—*On December 27, 1920 in the Temps.*

The United States Government

This Government stands with the Government of the Allies holding Germany responsible for the war and therefore moral bound to make reparation, so far as may be possible. The recognition of this obligation, implied in the memorandum of L. Simons, seems to the Government of the United States the only sound basis on which can be built a firm and just peace, upon which the various nations of Europe can achieve once more economic independence and stability.—*Note of March 29, 1921.*

H. W. V. Temperley

The first of the Reparation Clauses (Article 231) asserts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage suffered by her enemies as a result of the War. This responsibility is a moral and not a financial responsibility. The Clause means simply that Germany caused the War.—*A History of the Peace Conference, vol. 2, p. 73.*

Woodrow Wilson

In the first place, my fellow countrymen, it [the peace treaty] seeks to punish one of the greatest wrongs ever done in history, the wrong which Germany sought to do to the world and to civilization; and there ought to be no weak purpose with regard to the application of punishment. She attempted an intolerable thing, and she must be made to pay for the attempt. The terms of the treaty are severe, but they are not unjust. I can testify that the men associated with me at the peace conference in Paris had it in their hearts to do justice and not wrong. . . . And I wish to testify that they exercised restraint in the terms of this treaty. . . . If I could not have brought back the kind of treaty that did bring back, I never would have come back, because I would have been an unfaithful servant, and you would have had the right to condemn me in any way that you chose to use. So I testify that this . . . a treaty that expresses the heart of the great peoples who were associated together in the war against Germany.—*Columbus, Sept. 4, 1919.*



The Case Reopened!

Pierre Renouvin, Professor of the History of the Great War at the University of Paris and Director of the French War Library and Museum. *The Immediate Origins of the War*, pp. 334-355. (Italics Ours.) Published by Yale University Press.

"There is nothing, to tell the truth, to prove that Germany and Austria actually wanted to bring on a general war at this time. There is every reason to think, on the contrary, that they would have been satisfied with only a limited degree of success, which would have been sufficient to strengthen their position and to re-establish their prestige. . . .

"The military provocation of July, 1914, was determined by a diplomatic provocation. The connecting link between them was furnished by the Austrian declaration of war upon Serbia. Now Germany and Austria were *alone* in desiring this provocation. It is true that they had reasons to feel uneasy; nationalistic movements were threatening the very existence of the Dual Monarchy and, indirectly, the position of the German Empire. But they would not consent to any solution other than that of violent action."

G. P. Gooch, Co-Editor of British Official Documents on the War. *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, 1930 edition, pp. 206-214. (Italics Ours.) Published by Longmans, Green & Co.

"Though the conduct of each of the belligerents appeared to its enemies to indicate a double dose of original sin, it was nevertheless in every case what might have been expected. . . . To explain the conduct of the statesmen of Europe in terms of national tradition or ambition is not necessarily to approve the policies from which the catastrophe arose. The root of the evil lay in the division of Europe into two armed camps. . . .

"Blind to danger and deaf to advice as were the statesmen of the three despotic Empires, *not one of them, when it came to the point, desired to set the world alight*. But though they may be acquitted of the inexpiable crime of deliberately starting the avalanche, they must jointly bear the reproach of having chosen the path which led to the abyss. The outbreak of the Great War, however, is the condemnation not only of the performers who strutted for a brief hour across the stage, but above all of the international anarchy which they inherited and which they did little to abate."

Sidney B. Fay, formerly of Smith College, now of Harvard, acclaimed by historians as the outstanding American authority on causes of the World War. *The Origins of the World War*, vol. 2, pp. 547-558. (Italics Ours.) This notable work is now being published in one volume by Macmillan.

"None of the Powers wanted a European War. Their governing rulers and ministers, with very few exceptions, all foresaw that it must be a frightful struggle, in which the political results were not absolutely certain, but in which the loss of life, suffering, and economic consequences were bound to be terrible. . . .

"Nevertheless, a European War broke out. Why? Because in each country political and military leaders did certain things,

which led to mobilizations and declarations of war, or failed to do certain things which might have prevented them. In this sense, all the European countries, in a greater or less degree, were responsible. *One must abandon the dictum of the Versailles Treaty that Germany and her allies were solely responsible*. It was a dictum exacted by victors from vanquished, under the influence of the blindness, ignorance, hatred, and the propagandist misconceptions to which war has given rise. . . .

"Austria was more responsible for the immediate origin of the War than any other Power. Yet from her own point of view she was acting in self-defence—not against an immediate military attack, but against the corroding Greater Serbia and Jugoslav agitation which her leaders believed threatened her very existence. . . .

"*Germany did not plot a European War, did not want one*, and made genuine, though too belated efforts, to avert one. She was the victim of her alliance with Austria and of her own folly. . . . Germany's geographical position between France and Russia, and her inferiority in number of troops, had made necessary the plan of crushing the French army quickly at first and then turning against Russia. This was only possible, in the opinion of her strategists, by marching through Belgium, as it was generally anticipated by military men that she would do in case of a European War. . . .

"General mobilization of the continental armies took place in the following order: Serbia, Russia, Austria, France and Germany. . . . It was the hasty Russian general mobilization, assented to on July 29 and ordered on July 30, while Germany was still trying to bring Austria to accept mediation proposals, which finally rendered the European War inevitable. . . .

"But the verdict of the Versailles Treaty that Germany and her allies were responsible for the War, in view of the evidence now available, is historically unsound. *It should therefore be revised*. However, because of the popular feeling widespread in some of the Entente countries, it is doubtful whether a formal and legal revision is as yet practicable. There must first come a further revision by historical scholars, and through them of public opinion."

Charles A. Beard, author of numerous historical works, including *The Rise of American Civilization*; in Harper's, January, 1922, p. 142.

"Not a single outstanding scholar among the Allied and Associated Powers—Renouvin, Fabre-Luce, Gooch, and Fay, for example—who has examined the evidence in the case believes in the Paris doctrine that the Central Powers and their Allies must bear the sole responsibility for plunging Europe into hell. Moreover, actors in the drama, such as Grey, Lloyd George, and Poincaré, now openly say that the War had its roots in ancient rivalries in which all the belligerents participated. Poincaré himself confessed in 1925: "I do not claim that Austria or Germany, in this first phase, had a conscious thought-out intention of provoking a general war. No existing document gives us the right to suppose that, at that time, they had planned anything so systematic." In the same year, Sir Edward Grey, speaking of the real origins of the War, said: "The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made the War inevitable."

When Inflamed by War Passions

Elihu Root

... The Germans are only half civilized in all that makes for civilization. . . . She [Germany] has the abnormal instincts which characterize her barbarisms and separate her from any civilized people. She has the intolerance, the incapacity to realize the right of existence of others, which characterizes her and her people as barbarians. . . . This war is a war between the civilization of this century and the semi-civilization of the past."—*Before the American Society of International Law, April, 1918.*

Vernon L. Kellogg

Will it be any wonder if, after the War, the people of the world, when they recognize any human being as a German, will shrink aside so that they may not touch him as he passes, or stoop for stones to drive him from their path? This will be cruel to the few who are not diseased but it will be warranted precaution against the danger—most of the Germans in Germany, and some outside of it, have become unclean and will have to walk the world as a marked people, avoided, despised, stoned.—*Quoted by G. S. Viereck, Spreading Germs of Hate, p. 90.*

William T. Hornaday

If the Allies fail to win this defensive war against Germany, that failure will sign the death warrant of human liberty on this earth. . . . We always have known that the Prussians were raw savages and domineering brutes, but until 1914 we had not believed that the people of South Germany were at heart equally so. Now we know that they are all tarred with the same stick, and also that they are the wickedest people this side of hell. The complete triumph of the Huns would rivet German shackles on the arms and legs of every American, Briton, Frenchman, Italian, Belgian and Latin American. It would bring the barbarians upon us all, for vengeance and for loot. . . . Germany deliberately and intentionally started the war, to crush Europe and spread herself in seized and vassalized territory.—*Wm. T. Hornady, Awake America, pp. 3, 75.*

Richard H. Edmonds

We are fighting to make the world safe for civilization, for the honor of womanhood, for the safety of the babies and the children of every land, for the honor of nations, and for all that makes life worth living. Infinitely better would it be that life should cease to exist on this planet than that this world should be dominated by the unspeakable barbarism which has marked the effort of Germany to wreck and ruin all that man has accomplished in his upward struggle toward the light. . . . Go forth then, ye Saviors of Civilization with uplifted head, with a firm tread, with hearts afire for the right, and know that the missionary of the Cross, as in olden days he risked his life in the wilds of heathen lands, never did a sublimer work than that to which you have dedicated

Your lives—and, God be with you. . . . We are now in this war to save our country from being overrun by barbarism. We are trying to save the infant from being dangled on the bayonet as was done in Belgium. . . . The murderers are aiming at us. The rapists are looking at this land with lustful dreams.—*R. H. Edmonds, America's Relation to the World War, pp. 12, 17, 44, 47.*

Theodore Roosevelt

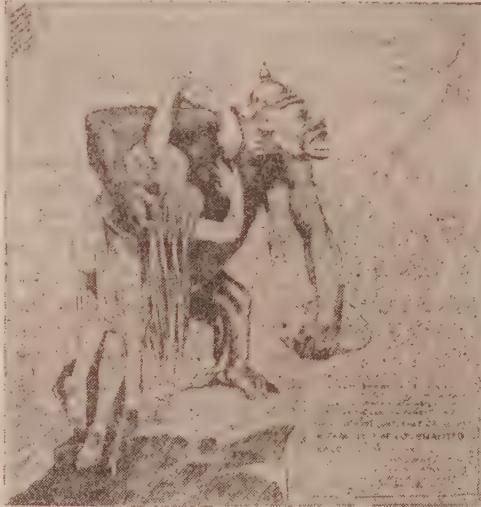
My dear Mr. Edmonds: As an American citizen, I wish to congratulate you with all my heart on the pamphlet, "America's Relation to the World War." That's straight patriotism! Faithfully yours, Theodore Roosevelt.—*September 8, 1917.*

Governor R. G. Pleasant of Louisiana

Russia was unprepared for war. . . . The French military establishment was only about one-fourth as large as that of Germany. . . . Here was Germany's opportunity to conquer the world, strangle democracy, set up colonial empires, plunder subject nations, and enthrone autocracy and the Hohenzollern dynasty in supreme power forever. . . . We must offer our all; if necessary, every American should die that liberty might live.—*Address in New Orleans, Sept. 27, 1918.*

Newell Dwight Hillis

Shall this foul creature that is in the German saddle, with hoofs of fire, trample down all the sweet growth in the garden of God? In a hundred years of history, where shall you find a record of soldiers, whether red, black or yellow who were such sneaking sniveling cowards?—*Quoted by Viereck, Spreading Germs of Hate, p. 194.*



How CAN THE WORLD MAKE PEACE WITH THIS THING?

Woodrow Wilson

The object of this war is to deliver the free people of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly. . . .—*President Wilson's reply to the Pope, August 27, 1917. [Italics ours.]*

W. H. Gardiner

Six years ago Prussia planned to acquire dominion over Austria-Hungary, all the Balkans, and all of Turkey; to conquer and absorb Belgium and Holland and all their colonies, as well as all of Russia west of a line between Riga and Odessa, and likewise northern France, Switzerland, and northeastern Italy. But it was not in the plan that Great Britain should come into the war until after France and Russia had been beaten and Belgium and Holl

land absorbed. . . . Once France and Great Britain were out of the way, Prussia planned the prompt seizure of all the foreign domains of Italy, Portugal, Belgium, and Holland, which, under such circumstances, could easily be conquered. . . . To the Teutonic mind this plan for an actual world dominion was as axiomatic as that two and two make four—provided France could be crushed, Russia eliminated, and then Great Britain crushed. . . . On land the comparisons would have been as follows:

	Area Sq. Miles	Population
Prussia, the ruler.....	134,600	40,000,000
The subjects:		
In Europe	722,600	149,700,000
In Asia	6,401,860	439,250,000
In Africa	10,960,000	160,750,000
In South America	3,501,000	13,420,000
In North America	5,000,000	27,000,000
Total dominions of the Kaiser.....	26,720,060	830,120,000
In contrast to Continental United States..	3,000,000	100,000,000

How preposterous this seems to Americans! And yet it is the cold-blooded and hard-headed plan and aim of the Prussian autocrats.—*W. H. Gardiner, in the Manufacturers' Record, November 1, 1917.*

Newell Dwight Hillis

Society has organized itself against the rattlesnake and the yellow fever. Shepherds have entered into a conspiracy to exterminate the wolves. The Boards of Health are planning to wipe out typhoid, cholera and the black plague. Not otherwise, lovers of their fellow men have finally become perfectly hopeless with reference to the German people. They have no more relation to the civilization of 1918 than an orang-outang, a gorilla, a Judas, a hyena, a thumbscrew, or a scalping knife in the hands of a savage. These brutes must be cast out of society. . . . We know that Tacitus said, nearly two thousand years ago, that "the German treats women with cruelty, tortures his enemies, and associates kindness with weakness." But nineteen centuries of education have not changed the Germans one whit. . . . In utter despair, therefore, statesmen, generals, diplomats, editors are now talking about the duty of simply exterminating the German people. There will shortly be held a meeting of surgeons in this country. A copy of the preliminary call lies before me. The plan to be discussed is based upon the Indiana State law. That law authorizes a State Board of Surgeons to use upon the person of confirmed criminals and hopeless idiots the new painless method of sterilizing the men. These surgeons are preparing to advocate the calling of a world conference to consider the sterilization of 10,000,000 German soldiers and the segregation of their women, that when this generation of Germans goes, civilized cities, states and races may be rid of this awful cancer that must be cut clean out of the body of society. . . . It is our duty to forgive the transgressor who is repentant, but it is a crime to forget the unspeakable atrocities of the German Kaiser, the German War Staff, and the German army.—*The Blot on the Kaiser's 'Scutcheon.*



J. H. Cassell in the N. Y. Eve. World

STABBED IN THE BACK!

—*The World War and Its Consequences, p. 180.*

Lyman Abbott

But I cannot pray for the Predatory Potsdam Gang, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," because that is not true. . . . I hate it because it is a robber, a murderer, a destroyer of homes, a pillager of churches, a violator of women.—*Quoted in the American Mercury, February, 1927.*

Louis H. Gray

Ethically the Prussian is a moral imbecile, an arrested development, a savage in civilization's garb, and even the garb he has stolen. Like the savage he is imitative, not inventive; like the savage he is boastful and cunning. Among the nations he is precisely what the type of morally imbecile but intellectually educated criminal is among individuals. . . . This war is but an episode in the age-long struggle between good and evil, between God and the Devil.—*Quoted in the American Mercury, June, 1927.*

George Parkin Atwater

The complete representative of the American Church in France is the United States Army overseas. Yes, an army, with its cannon and rifles and machine-guns, and its instruments of destruction. The Church militant, sent, morally equipped, strengthened and encouraged, approved and blessed, by the Church at home. The army today is the Church in action, transforming the will of the Church into deeds, expressing the moral judgment of the Church in smashing blows. Its worship has its vigil in the trenches, and its fasts and feasts; its prayers are in acts, and its choir is the crash of cannon and the thrilling ripple of machine guns. . . . No, from the beginning the Church has been patriotic and loyal. . . . While neutral in act, the Church was not neutral in thought and judgment. Neutrality in thought was immoral. No power on earth could have silenced the thousands of voices that arose from Christian pulpits. . . . And the clergy and the Church of our nation spoke, and spoke with power. Hot, flaying, excoriating, scarifying words of righteous indignation and anger have been poured forth from our pulpits. Rousing and enkindling appeals have startled the people from their stunned complacency. I have heard many of them. Even before the United States declared war the words were uttered.—*Quoted in the American Mercury, February, 1927.*

William H. Hobbs

Here (in the villages of Roumania), in the form of shining balls, pencils and toys of various descriptions bombs were systematically given out to children by German agents, and in handling them the children were either blown up or horribly mutilated. . . . As reported by the children, the agent was usually a woman. . . . Can a nation which befools or poisons wells, bombs hospitals and sinks hospital and relief ships, and turns over the women of a captured district to the pleasures of its soldiery; can such a nation be regenerated and made fit for the society of the civilized world, even through the chastening of a crushing military defeat?—*The World War and Its Consequences, p. 180.*

The Heart of the Arabic-Speaking World*

ELIZABETH P. MACCALLUM

IT was almost half a millenium of supremacy in the Near East which the Turks celebrated in 1923, when, with less melancholy than might have been expected, they signed the peace treaty of Lausanne, relinquishing their claim of suzerainty over the palm-fringed provinces to the south of them. The Arabic-speaking countries which lie between the present Turkish boundary and the Gulf of Aden have an extent almost half as great as the area of the United States, while their inhabitants are equal in number to the combined populations of such crowded cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and New York, with Seattle, perhaps, thrown in for good measure. What has happened to these thirteen million people and to the million and a quarter square miles of territory they inhabit, now that the Ottoman era is a thing of the past? Have they benefited economically, socially, culturally, and politically? Or have they suffered by the change?

It is apparent, in the first place, that with the loss of the Turkish connection there fell away from the people of Mesopotamia, Syria and the Arabian peninsula one of their last bulwarks against the steady encroachments of expanding western powers.

In the second place, the post-war era has brought to the regions under consideration a series of radical political experiments. France and Great Britain are administering Syria and the Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq (Mesopotamia) not as colonies of the familiar type but as "mandated territories" under the supervision of the League of Nations, to whom the French and British governments are obliged to submit full annual reports of their respective administrations. Their function is described as that of "rendering administrative advice and assistance" to the mandated territories "until such time as they are able to stand alone." Even during the period of tutelage, however, it is possible, according to the League Covenant, to recognize them as independent nations owing to the relatively advanced stage of development they have reached. The League has assumed that the well-being and further development of the inhabitants of these countries may be regarded as "a sacred trust of civilization." Great Britain and France, whose interests in the Near East made them more than willing to assume the duties of trusteeship, have undertaken to act as agents of the League experiment.

In the third place the collapse of the Ottoman Empire has given the Jews of the Diaspora an

opportunity to work for the revival of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Zionist colonization of Palestine began in 1908, but until the World War Jews were able to settle in the country only by grace of the Ottoman Government, and Jewish immigration proceeded very slowly. Today the project for a Jewish national home, although bitterly opposed by Arabs, Iraqis, Syrians, and non-Jewish Palestinians, is underwritten not only by the British Government, which is responsible for the administration of Palestine, but also by the other members of the League of Nations and by the United States. Relying on international recognition and having won for their project the active support of millions of Jews, both Zionist and non-Zionist, in various countries, the task of the "Jewish Agency" has now become the dual one of overcoming the opposition of the Arabs and of supervising and directing the practical work of colonization.

ONE of the most striking features of British and French mandatory administration has been the division and subdivision of territory which the post-war settlement has entailed. People who before the War regarded each other as compatriots, and who united in electing common representatives to the Parliament in Constantinople, now find themselves separated by political boundaries, administered under different political systems, using different currencies, cut off from unhampered trade relations with one another, and forced to obtain visas when they wish to visit one another.

These states display a variety of political organization, illustrating what the theorist might regard as interesting stepping-stones to independence; but the people of the mandated territories themselves have resented this diversity as an evidence of unwarranted tampering with their natural political development. Division, many of them say, has meant weakness. It has retarded their development, jeopardized their well-being.

Transjordan, a primitive country in which the proportion of nomadic inhabitants is higher than in any of the other territories under mandate, has entered into the dignity of treaty relations with Great Britain, has received a constitution and has elected a legislative council; but in Palestine, across the river from Transjordan, there is neither constitution nor national legislature, although the country is more advanced than Transjordan in every other way, and although thirteen years have now passed since Allenby announced the liberation of Jerusalem.

* This article is one of a series on *Forward Trends in the Orient* which will appear regularly in these columns during the next few months.

IN Palestine it is recognized that the development of self-government has been hampered by the extraordinarily complicated problems arising out of the attempt to establish a Jewish national home in a country inhabited by Arabs who both fear and resent what they regard as the invasion of their country by a strongly organized people enjoying international support. In 1922 the British High Commissioner attempted to endow Palestine with a constitution and a legislative assembly. But the Arabs refused to co-operate in this or any other scheme which involved recognition of the right of Jews to establish a national home in their midst. Thus British authorities have governed Palestine directly by administrative ordinance since 1922, as though it were a colony rather than a territory under Class A mandate.

The failure of the British authorities to devise some means of satisfying Arab demands for self-governing institutions was one of the causes believed by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League to be at the bottom of the race riots which took place in Palestine during the summer of 1929, when 133 Jews and 116 Arabs were killed, and extensive damage done, especially to Jewish property. The riots of 1930 led to a reconsideration of British policy in Palestine. A careful survey of the economic situation and possibilities of the country was accordingly made on behalf of the Labour Government by Sir John Hope Simpson during the spring and summer of 1930. Politically, however, the future of the country was still obscure at the time of this investigation, the only reasonable certainty being that Palestine would under no circumstances be endowed immediately with representative, self-governing institutions on the basis of representation by population.

Syria, too, has had its set-backs. There is no question that Syria for generations has been more advanced than Iraq, with higher standards of education and culture, greater prosperity, steadier contact with the outside world, and a much greater supply of men eligible for public service. Yet it cannot compare with Iraq in its political advancement. There are in Syria, moreover, no difficulties as baffling as those which inhere in the Palestinian mandate, yet loss of life through popular disturbances has been much greater in Syria than in Palestine.

The French occupation of this territory began with a military expedition against the Amir Faisal, who had aided the British in driving the Turks back into the north, and established the rudiments of a nationalist Arab state with its capital in Damascus. The forcible imposition of the French mandate was followed by a series of administrative measures hotly resented by Syrians, who complained that the terms of the League Covenant were being disregarded and their political independence obstructed rather than encouraged. In 1925 rebellion broke out, and con-

tinued for two years. After the trouble subsided, Syrians were allowed for the first time to elect a Constituent Assembly, but the constitution drafted by that body has had an unhappy history. Disallowed at first by the French High Commissioner because of certain articles inconsistent with the mandatory régime, the constitution hung fire for over a year and a half (the Assembly having been suspended) until May 1930, when French authority proclaimed a constitution based largely on the document submitted by the Syrian leaders but modified by reservations in a few important respects so as to make it unacceptable to the people. Syria is thus still without a Parliament.

THE political history of the republic of Greater Lebanon, also under French mandate, has been very different. French influence has been strong in the maritime communities of this region for generations. Half the population of the territory was already warmly attached to French tradition before the Great War, and welcomed the establishment of the French mandate with enthusiasm. But even here, a constitution was conferred on the people only after rebellion in Syria had shown the mandatory authorities that it might be advisable to hasten the establishment of representative institutions in the more loyal territory. Since May 1926 a Parliament has functioned in Beirut. There has been no proposal, however, to admit the republic to membership in the League of Nations. Its flag shows a cedar of Lebanon superimposed upon the tricolor of France. This, many believe, is symbolic of the intentions of the French mandatory power.

Iraq, meanwhile, has often been envied by other mandated territories. In the first place, although administered under League supervision, it has never been formally subjected to the terms of a League mandate. It was given an Arab king in 1921 and a Parliament and a treaty with Great Britain in 1924. In July 1930, a new treaty between Great Britain and Iraq was signed providing for the reduction of British authority in Iraq beginning in 1932, in which year Great Britain will undertake to support Iraq's application for membership as an independent State in the League of Nations.

THE story of the economic development of the mandated territories of the Near East during the last decade has been an interesting one. All of them were seriously affected by the War, and some of them actually devastated. Famine and disease reduced the population of the Mediterranean seacoast as well as of interior regions. Economic recovery under the best of circumstances would have required a certain amount of time. The uprising of 1920 in Iraq, the rebellion of 1925-27 in Syria, and the riots

of 1929 in Palestine each served to retard development in the countries concerned, being due, as already seen, to policies adopted by the mandatory powers which were unwelcome to the inhabitants of the territories concerned. But it must also be remembered that foreign capital has been attracted to the mandated territories in a way which might not have occurred had Great Britain and France not assumed responsibility for the administration of these countries.

The largest single international concern operating in the Near East is the Iraq Petroleum Company, with a capital popularly quoted at a billion dollars, participated in by British, French, American, and Dutch companies. Another important project is the scheme for reclamation of Dead Sea salts. British and American capital, much of it provided by Jews, is behind the project, which envisages the production of large supplies of phosphates and other valuable mineral deposits reclaimable by evaporation of the water of the Dead Sea.

Viewed in one of its aspects, Jewish colonization of Palestine is in itself a very important economic venture. Since 1917, when the British government first undertook to support the Jewish National Home project, the Zionist Organization is said to have spent almost \$34,000,000 on Palestinian reconstruction, while other Jewish colonization schemes in Palestine have received \$50,000,000 from Baron Rothschild's philanthropic schemes. One hundred and thirty-five Jewish agricultural settlements have been founded with a population of about 35,000 out of a total Jewish population of 172,000.

In all the mandated territories communications have been much improved. The position of these countries as future highways of commerce is being borne in mind. Metalled roads are being constructed. A railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf is projected by the British Government to supplement the Cairo-Baghdad-Basra air service and the trans-desert motor transport services already functioning regularly.

Agricultural production is recovering gradually from the set-back it received during the War. Steps are being taken to meet invasions of locusts, to irrigate dry lands, to drain swamps, to reduce pests, to carry out afforestation schemes, and to control floods.

There is still a long way to go, however, in each of these directions, before satisfactory results can be reached. Importation of agricultural products, which was very high after the War, has on the whole declined; but it is still true that many such products—which in time these countries should export to Europe and elsewhere—are being brought into the area to satisfy needs which local production cannot yet meet.

A RECENT development of lasting significance to the people of the mandated territories of the Near East is the slow opening up of new opportunities for women. In Iraq and Transjordan almost nothing has been done yet to emancipate women from a rigid and narrow seclusion. A few schools for girls have been established, and in Baghdad there exists a training school for women teachers—the sole institution of higher learning which is yet open to women in Iraq. Here the process of emancipation has merely begun.

In Palestine a gesture indicating a desire for independence was made not long ago when a group of Arab women met for a public discussion of the political situation. Resolutions were drawn up and submitted to the High Commissioner on behalf of the Arab women of Palestine. Even among certain conservative groups this feminist movement gained approval owing to the support it gave to the policies advocated by the Nationalists in the Palestine Arab Congress. Jewish women in Palestine enjoy almost as great freedom as their sisters in Europe, but Arab opinion is still apt to condemn the social implications of this freedom.

In Syria and the Lebanon much greater advance has been made by women than in Palestine, Transjordan or Iraq. The standard of education is relatively high, and women have already begun to enter professions other than that of teaching.

Even the most conservative leaders in the Near East are beginning to realize that others about them have accepted the theory of the educability of women, and some of them suspect that they may be forced to accept it themselves. But this does not alter the fact that many of them are genuinely concerned about the future of society. They believe that with the restrictions Moslem women are throwing off they are losing the protection which was formerly necessary to their welfare and to the welfare of the community. In the younger educated groups, however, and among a number of mature leaders, the feminist movement has strong champions.

TURNING to the Arabian peninsula proper, one finds entirely different conditions. Here is the immemorial home of the nomad and here the towns and cities where for centuries the nomad has found sale for his excess produce. Here was carried into effect the Arab revolt against the Turks during the War, and here were nursed plans for the unification of Greater Arabia by Hussein of Mecca, whose son failed at the Peace Conference to achieve in fact what Arabs had been led by the war-time promises of their allies to expect. Not long afterward Hussein became the victim of an expansionist movement in the interior of Arabia which was directed against his own rule in the Hedjaz. For over a hundred

years a puritan Moslem cult, whose members were known as Wahhabis, had been endeavoring to create enthusiasm for a return to a simple and austere interpretation of the Koran. The dominant sect in the Hedjaz (the Sunnites) controlled the Holy Places of Islam in Medina and Mecca, and had permitted many practices to spring up which were regarded as idolatrous and immoral by the Wahhabis. Militant traditions lay behind the Wahhabi brotherhood, and in 1924 its members gave expression to their zeal by attacking the Hedjaz under the leadership of Abdul Aziz Ibn Saoud, Sultan of the great interior country of the Nejd. King Hussein and his son and successor, King Ali, were driven from the Hedjaz by the end of 1925, and the Wahhabis assumed control of the Holy Places.

Ibn Saoud issued new orders for regulation of the annual pilgrimage. Practices considered idolatrous by the Wahhabis were forbidden, pilgrims were protected from extortion and in large measure from diseases which had formerly taken a heavy toll of life. New provision was made for their comfort. The number of pilgrims increased phenomenally and the pilgrimage of 1927 broke all post-war records.

A proposal was seriously entertained by a number

of leaders in 1926, to establish an Islamic League of Nations. To discuss this project and others which had recently been broached, an all-Islamic Congress met in Mecca at the time of the 1926 pilgrimage. Some of the delegates wished to establish an international Moslem administration for the Hedjaz, but Ibn Saoud, who desired to keep the country under his own control, managed to prevent the former project from being carried out. The Hedjaz has since remained an autonomous kingdom under the jurisdiction of Ibn Saoud, whose son acts as viceroy.

For the first time in history a serious attempt is being made under Ibn Saoud's direction to settle nomad Arabs on the land in Arabia proper. Wahhabi brotherhood cantonments have sprung up here and there, where zealous tribesmen are learning to live without raiding and to cultivate the soil as well as to raise flocks and herds. This constitutes a social experiment of revolutionary character, and if it continues to prove successful cannot fail to alter the whole nature of existence in the interior of Arabia, where it has often been said in the past that nothing can ever free the Arab from the curse of fratricidal strife or endow him with an interest in settled, productive occupations.

The Supreme Court Moves to the Left

EDWARD BERMAN

NOT many months ago liberals of the land were strenuously but unsuccessfully objecting to the nomination of Charles Evans Hughes as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Not the least of the protesting voices was that of organized labor. On May 26 the new Chief Justice rendered his first opinion in a labor case.* Today both liberals and trade unionists need to pause and consider that opinion, for its immediate effect is decidedly favorable to labor, and it makes suggestions which the critics of the Supreme Court would not have believed likely to emanate from that body for a long time to come.

Late in 1925 the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks made demands for wage increases upon the Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company, a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific. Later on the company, fearing that if these demands went to arbitration under the terms of the new Railway Labor Act of 1926, it might have to yield wage advances which would increase its payroll by approximately \$340,000 a year, decided to end its relations with the brotherhood and organize a company union. It proceeded by the usual methods, bringing pressure to bear upon the members of the trade union to give up their affiliation and join the company-

made "Association of Clerical Employees—Southern Pacific Lines."

To meet this campaign against it, the Brotherhood went into the federal district court and asked for an injunction against the railroad on the charge that it was violating the Railway Labor Act. One of the provisions of that law, whose general purpose it was to provide for the amicable adjustment of railway disputes, declared that the two sides should designate representatives for the purposes of the act "without interference, influence or coercion exercised by either party over the self-organization or designation of representatives by the other." In response to the complaint of the Brotherhood that the railroad company was violating this provision, the district court issued an injunction restraining the road from "influencing, intimidating or coercing" the clerks in their "free and untrammeled right" of self-organization and the designation of representatives.

Undaunted, the Texas and New Orleans announced that the clerical employees had chosen the company union to represent them, and that it had recognized that organization for the purposes of collective bargaining. Thereupon it was cited for contempt of the injunction. In order to purge itself, the district court ordered the carrier to "disestablish" its "Association

* Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company v. Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. 74 L. ed. 607.

of Clerical Employees," and to consider the Brotherhood the representative of the clerks pending an election of representatives under the direction of the court. The company appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals, which upheld the decree of the lower court. An appeal to the Supreme Court resulted in a unanimous decision, sustaining the courts below.

FOUR aspects of the Supreme Court's opinion deserve especial consideration.

1. The suit of the Brotherhood takes on an importance of the first rank when one considers it in connection with the background of the injunction problem. For many years labor's antagonism to the injunction was so intense that all efforts were concentrated upon securing legislation to abolish its use in industrial disputes. The failure of the Clayton Act, which appeared to give unions all they asked for but in the end proved to be like bitter Dead Sea apples, "ashes to the taste," merely served to intensify the trade unionist hatred of "injunction judges." After the war, however, a number of adventurous leaders concluded that since injunctions against labor were not likely to be abolished, it might be possible to make use of them to promote unionism, and they accordingly sought decrees against employers. Surprisingly enough, here and there a court helped a union to turn the tables on an employer, who found himself ordered to do this and not to do that. To many leaders the situation must have seemed delicious in its irony. Others, however, felt that labor, by making use of this hated weapon of the employers, was weakening the moral strength of its own position.

2. The decision represents an important victory for trade unionism in its fight against company unions. We have seen that when the Texas and New Orleans Railroad wanted to avoid paying a large wage increase to the clerks, it decided the best way to accomplish its purpose was to organize its own "Association of Clerical Employees" and to cease dealing with the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. In a letter written by H. M. Lull, executive vice-president of the road, to A. D. McDonald, its president, on May 24, 1927, the former expressed the belief that by negotiating with its own union the company would be able to keep wage increases down to \$75,000 a year, as compared with a possible \$340,000 if the Brotherhood's request went to a board of arbitration set up under the terms of the Railway Labor Act.

Examining this record, the Supreme Court concluded that the railroad had brought undue pressure and coercion upon the clerks, had interfered with "the free and untrammeled right" of self-organization and the designation of representatives, and that these things had been done in the "manifest interest" of the carrier. The court thus set forth the facts as to the selfish and coercive methods accompanying an

employer's attempt to erect a company union in the place of a trade union.

3. In its brief before the Supreme Court the Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company asserted that the **Railway Labor Act**, as interpreted by the lower courts, operated to interfere with its freedom of contract, and thus violated the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. The Supreme Court rejected this position and upheld the law. . . .

IT would seem that the Supreme Court has in the present instance reversed its former fundamental position. The Texas and New Orleans found itself ordered by the district court to cease its coercive activities, of which, by implication, the discharge of union leaders was surely one. Instead of dealing with a trade union, it wished to deal with an organization amenable to its own control. The Railway Labor Act was interpreted in such a way that the company's freedom to do these things was not only limited, it was taken away. All of this involved restriction of the employer's freedom of contract; yet, strange as it may seem, the Supreme Court upheld it.

It is difficult to measure the full significance of this aspect of the decision. The railway unions will surely benefit from it; but as long as the court does not regard its position as a reversal, the effect upon the constitutionality of future legislation limiting "yellow-dog" contracts remains uncertain. If the court, instead of confining its treatment of the question of constitutionality to a single brief paragraph, had given the matter a thorough analysis, we might have had a decision which would have cleared the way for much needed legislation in labor's interest.

4. In addition to these gains for unionism, the opinion of the Chief Justice carries with it a restriction on labor's freedom of action. It interprets the Railway Labor Act in such a way as to render awards of arbitration boards legally enforceable, and to prohibit railway strikes under certain conditions. Furthermore, the decision gives grounds for believing that the court would regard as constitutional a complete system of compulsory arbitration for the railways.

WHEN one considers the Supreme Court's attitude toward trade unionism in recent years, it is hard to believe that that body was aware of the full implications of its decision in the Texas and New Orleans case. That the decision was written by Chief Justice Hughes is not the least surprising thing about it, for there can be no doubt that by and large it represents a great victory for the cause of organized labor. Is it justifiable to conclude that the decision heralds a change in the court's attitude towards labor? Were liberals mistaken in their belief that Mr. Hughes was a reactionary?

News From Far-away Neighbors*

Buenos Aires, August 23, 1930

YOUR new "Correspondent for South America" is wondering how to begin her first letter to you, wondering how she can tell your readers, who are concerned about the world tomorrow, of the world today as she is coming to know it here.

It's quite an order! Most correspondents, I notice, have one country to be concerned about—England or China or India—but you've donated me a continent. There is something rather significant about this. Most North Americans have the habit of thinking of South America as simply a country. They forget that it is a continent, made up of thirteen distinct countries, with five languages spoken in these countries besides numerous different Indian dialects.

I have been on the continent only seven months, but in this brief time I have seen astonishing changes come about. When I arrived, air mail service was too uncertain and slow to be bothered about; now we have three seven-day air mails a week from Buenos Aires to the States, and a weekly service to Paris and other parts of Europe. Last February I stood on the tip top of the Andes on the boundary line between Chile and Argentina and saw a small trench running along at the foot of the great statue of peace, "El Cristo." Finished just the day before, it was not a trench for warfare but was designed to carry the cables that formed the last link in making possible conversation between the United States and the countries of this continent. Then came the great Zeppelin bringing us mail from Europe and carrying our messages to the United States in the space of a few days.

In discussing world relations with the engineer whose work carried the telephone across the Andes, I asked him, "What do you think is doing most toward building a more friendly world?" His reply was, "Communications," and as I look back over these past few months I realize the enormous strides that have been made. But in addition to telephones and airplanes one needs knowledge and understanding of one's neighbors, both near at hand and far away, in order to make the lines of communication of real value. Consequently the most fascinating thing for me has been trying to discover and understand some of the factors which make up the individuality of each country—their likenesses and their differences. To be sure, I have visited only four countries, the so-called "A.B.C. Countries" and Uruguay, and the chances are that I shall see very little of the other nine.

Argentina, strong, self-assured, cosmopolitan, with important cities such as Rosario, Mendoza, Bahia Blanca, and Cordoba is nevertheless often thought of

only in terms of Buenos Aires or the "camp," as the country is always called. To be sure, Buenos Aires, with its two million inhabitants, is as beautiful a city as one can find anywhere. As one strolls down the famous Calle Florida between five and seven o'clock, when all traffic must give way to those who love the "paseo," or down the Avenida de Mayo with its sidewalk cafes, one is sure that the city deserves to be called the Paris of the Western Hemisphere. And the "camp" makes one think of Kansas—miles upon miles of the pampas, flat as the palm of your hand, where surely enough cattle to feed the world could graze. Yet Argentina, like so many countries of the world today, is in a difficult economic situation. A memorial recently sent to the President by representatives of the Union Industrial, the Bolsa de Cereales, the Confederación del Comercio and the Rural Society, says that "The situation in this country today is frankly alarming," and goes on to state that the falling off of foreign trade, the depreciation of the currency, the growth of bankruptcy returns, and the shortage of money are all evidences of the crisis through which the country is passing. People of all the opposition parties are disturbed, but no one knows whether the government will take action to try to improve the situation.

After having had to depend for some years in Chicago upon the "World's Greatest Newspaper" for my daily information, it is a joy to be living in a city with such excellent papers as one finds in Buenos Aires. *La Nación*, *La Prensa*, and *La Razón* all give one comprehensive world news. For example, we have followed with interest the discussions on the application of the Monroe Doctrine and the rights of the United States to interfere in the affairs of Latin America as they have taken place at the Williams-town Institute of Politics. Several of the papers carried editorials concerning the discussion.

UP to the present time there has been little cultural exchange between the United States and her Southern neighbors. Latin American countries have turned to France almost entirely for their cultural and educational inspiration. The second language of the Spanish-speaking countries and of Brazil is French—all well educated people understand it and the majority speak it. Likewise, travel has been almost entirely to Europe for professional reasons as well as for pleasure. However, English is now "the mode," and innumerable people are beginning to study it. Yet because of the close bond that has always existed with Europe, there is among the nations here no feeling that the United States has any real interest in their welfare. They do not regard our country as a

* The first of a series of letters from foreign correspondents in various regions of the earth.

member of their own Western Hemisphere group. Consequently all actions, no matter how benevolent they may seem to people in the United States, are looked upon here as having a suspiciously economic significance.

The twenty northern provinces forming the United States of Brazil are as large as the United States of America without Alaska. A huge country with unlimited resources, unlimited beauty, and tremendous problems—problems of finance, development of resources, health, education, leadership. Great stretches of Brazil have never been explored. Roads and railroads are limited, for the development has been chiefly along the coast and the rivers. The States of Amazonas, Matto Grosso, and Goyas forming "the great West" of Brazil are still practically unknown. The country's water resources are stupendous, with a possibility of unlimited electric power which means that Brazil will undoubtedly skip the steam age in her development.

Soil and climate are such that agriculture is almost too easy. The result has been a minimum of scientific knowledge of agriculture, and few products have been developed to their utmost capacity. Oranges, however, rival any that can be found in California or Florida; sugar and cocoa are abundant; and coffee can, and to a large degree does, supply the world. Nevertheless, today Brazil is also in a desperate financial crisis. In Santos there is stored up the coffee accumulation of three harvests. In an effort to keep up the price, only a certain number of sacks are allowed to go out each day to the ships of the many countries waiting at the port to receive them. Consequently, companies and individuals have gone bankrupt, but no one seems to know the way out. Coffee is Brazil's life blood and when its flow is clogged she suffers desperately.

Her political life is a game of leaders. There are no political parties, no issues around which parties have arisen. The president is elected for four years and cannot be re-elected. There is no secret ballot and seldom an opposition candidate to the man chosen by the president to be his successor. This year Rio Grande do Sul, a progressive state to the south, ran an opposition candidate, but the candidate from Sao Paulo was elected. Almost without exception the President has been a former president of the state of Sao Paulo, Minas Geraes, or Rio de Janeiro. These three states hold the political power of the nation in their hands. Politics is a game played by all, but too often for the benefit of the individual and too rarely for the welfare of the whole country.

Brazil is a country in the making, an agricultural country just coming into contact with the industrial world that is pushing in upon it. Someone has said Brazil is like a banker who has a great fortune locked up in his safe while he sits on his front doorstep doing business with the change in his pocket. She

must have capital with which to develop her resources, and it will have to be foreign capital, for she has little of her own. Hence her future depends upon what type of control she will get with the coming of foreign capital.

ACROSS the Andes vigorous, determined Chile is balancing her budget and struggling to develop her natural resources. Her energetic spirit has sometimes caused her to be called "the Yankee" of the continent. During the World War nitrate was her wealth, about 60 per cent. of her national income being derived from it. The war over, nitrate was no longer needed in vast quantities, and Chile was forced to set to work to readjust her finances. In a few years, by means of adding an income tax and adjusting other taxes Chile has reached a point where she receives only 14 per cent. of her national budget from nitrate. Yet the dictatorship that has brought this about, together with other improvements, has not been acceptable to all the people, and there is considerable discontent in the country.

A mere ribbon of a country is Chile, only about a hundred miles wide and two thousand miles long. One buys a map by the yard, or finds it put up in a book by sections. Chile's life is largely centered around her capital, Santiago, and her most important seaport on the western coast, Valparaiso. Gradually she is developing better relations with Peru since the settlement of the Tacna-Arica boundary dispute. Chile was not entirely satisfied with the decision, but seems to feel that some kind of settlement and peace were more important than nothing at all.

FOR Uruguay this is a centennial year, an important and gala one with much celebration. Were you to call on her for a day, you would see the main *avenida* of Montevideo hung with bands of blue and white lights which, with the great sun in the plaza beyond, combine to give the effect of the national flag.

A little country is Uruguay, with only one and a half million inhabitants, seven hundred thousand of whom are in its capital city. Yet it is a country with some of the most progressive legislation in the world. Its position as a buffer between Brazil and Argentina has rightly earned for it the name, "Switzerland of South America."

I haven't even begun to introduce you to this continent, and now my allotted number of words is spent! But keep in mind that this year the second group of teachers from the United States came down for six weeks of summer school in Rio de Janeiro. The cost was exceedingly low. Don't always plan to go to Europe but try trekking South for a change! More readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW should know this nearby continent.

Los saludos de América del Sud,
ANNE GUTHRIE

F i n d i n g s

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

Jails and Jungles

I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a sycophant or coward on the streets. . . . If it had not been for the men and women who, in the past, have had the moral courage to go to jail, we would still be in the jungles.—*Eugene V. Debs*, quoted by McAlister Coleman in "Eugene V. Debs," p. 285.

In Wartime

Huge sums are raised for our own kith and kin; but patriotism shrivels up our sympathies the moment we are asked to extend them to the widows and orphans whom we ourselves have made.—*J. G. Godard*, Patriotism and Ethics, p. 45.

Typical Englishmen

King George III has long been regarded as a typical Englishman, yet he had practically not a drop of English blood in his veins, being mostly German, with a very little Scotch, and a still smaller trace of Welsh. . . . Edward III and his sons were as much Frenchmen as Englishmen.—*Viscount Bryce*, Race Sentiment as a Factor in History, pp. 5, 15.

Wisdom, Not Age

The relative experience of youth and age in the things that really matter is much more nearly equal than we ordinarily have admitted. There have been 1930 years since the birth of Christ, and there were scores, hundreds, and perhaps thousands of centuries of human experience before that. If an individual began his contact with human problems before A.D. 1870 he is not vastly more wise than one who began it A.D. 1910. Certain of the fundamental attributes and qualities by which every person must steer his course and evolve his personality, in the face of the wear and tear of life, come quite as much from the centuries and ages as they do from his individual experience.—*Clarence Cook Little*, The Awakening College, p. 273.

Pacifists Need Not Apply

It is hardness that distinguishes the Russian Communist from other radicals and revolutionaries in the world. To him nothing must matter but the cause. . . . He is the most supremely self-confident man in the world, overcome with something that is akin to omniscience. . . . He will tolerate no difference of opinion. He will not be doubted. . . . The Communist himself shows no tenderness. He seems almost as void of compassion as an executioner. . . . If love for a new humanity is his end, then most assuredly hate is one of his chief methods of achieving this end. . . . I have often thought that fundamentally what distinguishes a Communist from other revolutionaries is his readiness to kill and to be killed. . . . The Communist is a warrior. A conscientious objector is not admitted to membership in the Party. . . . A war of nations at best is a brutal enough affair. A war of classes, a civil war, is even more so.—*Maurice Hindus*, Humanity Uprooted, pp. 192-204, 340, 441.

As Critics

If we approve a play because we approve of the morality of the characters, or because we believe that the dramatist is preaching a certain morality through them, we have failed to experience the play esthetically and have no right to an opinion about it.—*A. Clutton-Brock*, Essays on Life, p. 98.

The Fighting Instinct

Most animals owe their lives and the perpetuation of their species far less to their power to fight than to their power to avoid a fight. . . . As we come close to man, then, pugnacity plays a lessened role. And hardly anywhere is it the chief instrument of selection and evolution.—*George Malcolm Stratton*, Social Psychology of International Conduct, p. 230.

Sophisticated Darkness

I confess that as I think upon the life of that supreme Lover and supreme Sufferer, "who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame," I am never for one moment tempted to pity him for the faith in God that led him to his death. Rather am I disturbed with an uneasy sense that we sophisticated modern folk, with our pitiful timidity and our persistent self-seeking, are living in darkness and misery when we might follow him through suffering into light and joy.—*Walter Marshall Horton*, Theism and the Modern Mood, p. 179.

A New Black Skin

White children, if undirected, play freely with Negro children, or with those of other distant races. "Our little girl, four years old," writes a student of mine who has lived some years in the Philippines, "preferred the company of Filipino children to that of whites when we were in Manila. . . . In fact, she asked her mother once if she might have a new black skin. . . . There is no sufficient reason to believe that nature has endowed us with a repugnance specifically aimed against those who are not of our blood. The facts can be explained without so expensive an hypothesis.—*George Malcolm Stratton*, Social Psychology of International Conduct, pp. 45, 48.

Psychiatry Becomes Respectable

Cloistered within the forbidding walls of mysterious castles on the outskirts of a few villages scattered over the country there have dwelt for the past century a strange and esoteric order known as psychiatrists. They were the keepers of the "insane"—physicians, scientists, medical men to be sure, but medical men with so extraordinary and incredible an interest that they were apologized for by the rest of the profession as being almost as questionable as the patients they cared for. Yet with the passage of years and with the assistance of the psychologists and sociologists, the chemists and anatomists . . . these men accumulated an experience . . . which gave them an understanding of why people do things and opened up entirely new vistas in the science of the human mind.—*Karl A. Menninger*, The Human Mind, p. 12.

Surveying Our Contemporaries

"Technological Unemployment," by Paul H. Douglas; *American Federationist*, August, 1930, pp. 923-950.

Does increased mechanical efficiency, by making it possible for a worker to produce say twice as much goods within a given time, create permanent unemployment? Professor Douglas answers this question in the negative and presents a convincing argument. Technological improvements, however, do bring about temporary losses of work for many employed. As partial remedies for this situation, the writer suggests more accurate forecasting of changes, reducing displacement by planning and scheduling, refusing to hire new men until the old surplus has been absorbed, public employment offices, more varied vocational training, a dismissal wage, and unemployment insurance.

"The Plight of the Negro Intellectual," by Rebecca Caudill; *Christian Century*, August 20, 1930, pp. 1012-14.

A vivid description of some handicaps which confront young Negroes in Nashville, Tennessee: Jim Crow transportation, upper balconies only at the movies and talkies, no access to a gymnasium or swimming pool, no admittance to many city parks including the one where the famed copy of the Parthenon is to be seen, to say nothing of discrimination in education, justice, religion, housing, and employment. The interracial forum is one of the most vigorous in the South but seems only to scratch the surface. Many young Negroes are becoming cynical. There are perhaps a dozen white people in the city who are waging relentless and unceasing warfare against race prejudice and discrimination.

"Mahatma Gandhi and India's Untouchables," *Current History*, August, 1930, pp. 864-870. **"Gandhi's March Past,"** by Katharine Mayo; *Atlantic*, September, 1930, pp. 327-333.

The author of *Mother India* has written two articles which will be bitterly resented throughout India. She takes the position that Gandhi has accomplished very little in behalf of the outcasts or indeed along any line of social reform and thinks that far greater results have been obtained by Christian missions and British justice. The tone in which Miss Mayo discusses Mahatma Gandhi is extremely irritating to his friends and the retort is certain to be made that she has misrepresented his attitude when she says that he counsels the untouchables to quietism and submission. As a relentless critic she appears to be unable to discover any qualities of nobility in the Mahatma.

"The Insurance Racket," by Abraham Epstein; *The American Mercury*, September, 1930, pp. 1-10.

A specialist in social insurance analyzes general insurance statistics and reports startling discoveries. While the total volume of insurance carried in the United States is impressive, the amount of security afforded to most policy holders is utterly inadequate. The average value of life insurance policies is about \$2,500 and of industrial policies about \$1,500, while the cost of a modest American funeral is \$400! The average face value of industrial policies in 1928 was only \$197.50. Yet insurance company officials are vig-

orous opponents of public insurance projects. The writer cites interesting data concerning high salaries paid to these officials, running from an individual salary of \$200,000 to an average of \$43,658 for eighty officers in ten leading companies.

"The Green Pastures," by E. H. Gilpin; *London Nation and Athenaeum*, August 2, 1930, pp. 564-565.

The Broadway success of the year which failed to pass the British censor is here enthusiastically described. The reviewer was deeply impressed with the sustained and reverent attention of the audience as the drama unfolded from the fish-fry picnic in heaven where God passed around "good ten-cent seegars" to Jehovah's experiences with Noah and Moses to the finale when God in despair and agony of spirit because of the waywardness of his children, leaning over the battlements of heaven and seeing Jesus bearing his cross, learns mercy through suffering. The writer confesses to a wild anger against stupid censorship.

"Christianity and Self-Government in India," by E. Stanley Jones; *Christian Century*, September 3, 1930, pp. 1058-1060.

The most famous of American missionaries in India prophesies that India will gain full autonomy as a dominion and that this will probably be achieved within the immediate future. The writer glories in the approach of self-government although he warns of ominous dangers to be overcome. He believes that the achievement of freedom will remove many inhibitions which are now preventing Indian nationalists from opening their minds to the religion of Jesus. Dr. Jones has long been known as a vigorous critic of Western ecclesiasticism but he is convinced that the greatest opportunities for Christianity in India are around the corner.

"Government and Business," by Oswald Garrison Villard; *The Nation*, September 3, 1930, pp. 237-239.

The University of Virginia stages an annual Institute of Public Affairs. Mr. Villard was on the program this summer and let loose a blast on the subject of politics and finance. He pointed out that everywhere the trend is toward consolidation of financial and industrial power. As immediate steps toward a solution the speaker recommended government ownership of railroads, pipe lines, and coal mines. He warned against the peril of refusing to adopt these measures because they are labelled socialistic or communistic.

"God's Gold," by John T. Flynn; *The Forum*, July, 1930, pp. 1-8.

That most of the multimillionaires of the past generation, with the conspicuous exception of Andrew Carnegie, were devout church members is pointed out. Yet many of these men were characterized by ruthless exploitation and notorious dishonesty. The message of the church has somehow failed to trouble the conscience of its rich pew holders. The writer believes that much of the trouble is found in the conception of Jehovah as a selfish, jealous, pitiless deity so often presented from the pulpit. "Be good because it pays" has been the working philosophy of many rich churchmen.

"The Diffusion of Stock Ownership in the United States," by Gardiner C. Means; *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1930, pp. 561-600.

The popular opinion that the ownership of industry is being decentralized is here subjected to statistical analysis. The investigation concludes that during the war and immediately thereafter a transfer in stock ownership was made from the very rich to persons of moderate means, that the number of stockholders has continued to increase but that there has been no appreciable shift in the proportion of corporate stock owned by different income level groups. A total of 800,000 employee stockholders in the United States own less than one per cent of all corporate stocks outstanding.

"Presidential Prosperity," by James Truslow Adams; *Harpers Magazine*, August, 1930, pp. 258-267.

Without minimizing the important role that business and industry play in the welfare of our nation, Mr. Adams deplores our growing tendency to subordinate politics to economics, a trend in which Presidents are elected solely on "prosperity" platforms and Secretaries of the Treasury become mere stock market tipsters. He sees in the rise of our new Business-State a distinct danger, for our government is already tottering under a load of older functions such as the maintaining of order and the dispensing of justice—functions which it performs none too well. If statesmanship becomes subordinate to big business and government merely a branch of economics, the result is bound to be chaos leading to an abuse of the functions of government and a decline in our national character.

"The P. & G. Ship—It Floats," by Elmer H. Dressman; *The Rotarian*, August, 1930, pp. 19-56.

In a city which at present has some 16,000 jobless persons—Cincinnati—there is one industrial concern whose workers have not suffered. By means of its "guaranteed employment" plan, the Procter & Gamble Company, maker of Ivory soap, provides 48 weeks of work every year for its employees. The company has put into effect a permanent safety program, health insurance, and old-age pensions, as well as a profit-sharing plan, and its employees elect three directors through whom they have a voice in shaping the policies of the concern. In 1929 P. & G. employees received more than \$800,000 in profit-sharing dividends. From January 1st to June 1st of the current year the fluctuation in employment at the main factory in Cincinnati was only 192.

"The Growing Cultural Importance of Hispanic America," by James Alexander Robertson; *Pan American Magazine*, August, 1930, pp. 108-117.

Increased interest in the study of Hispanic America—those regions in the Americas deriving from Spain and Portugal—is in recent years manifesting itself in the United States. Schools and colleges are offering courses in South American history, professors are writing new textbooks and translating source materials for use in these courses, and libraries are enlarging their formerly meager collection of Hispanic American books, pamphlets, and magazines. Numerous Pan-American conferences are also doing a great deal to arouse interest in Hispanic American countries, their history, culture, and progress.

"Far Eastern Airways"; *The Far Eastern Review*, June, 1930, pp. 299-303.

Recent years have seen tremendous progress in commercial aviation throughout all of Asia. European countries have realized the importance of binding themselves closer to their colonies, and as a consequence we have the Imperial airways reducing the journey from London to Delhi to nine days—a distance that formerly required sixteen. We find Holland developing mail and passenger lines to Java, Sumatra, and Singapore; France establishing aerial routes to Bagdad and Indo-China, while the German Lufthansa has arranged with Russia for an air service across Siberia to Mongolia and Northern China. In the latter country China Airways is in operation between Shanghai and Hankow, while Japan and the Kingdom of Siam both have rapidly expanding aviation enterprises under way. In the United States, the anonymous writer of this article points out, aeronautics, unlike the industry in Europe and Asia, is independent of government subsidy and for this reason has probably lagged behind. Regular service to the Philippines is not far distant, however. The dawn of this new air era will no doubt revolutionize the relations of the East and the West, the author declares, but he does not say how.

"The Church is Challenged to Outlaw War;" *The Christian Union Quarterly*, July 1930, pp. 58-72.

Preaching a Lenten sermon in Washington last spring in answer to the question, "Has Christianity Accepted Christ?" Dr. Peter Ainslie of Baltimore compared the position of an army chaplain with that of a clergyman dedicating a saloon. Whereupon it was shortly revealed that to a large portion of Christianity the linking of war with a saloon is a more heinous offense than the identification of Christ with war. The echoes of Dr. Ainslie's attack on the attitude of Christians toward war reverberated through church and press and are here gathered together without comment. They include the original offending sermon, the reply of Dr. Jason Noble Pierce, in whose church it was preached, Dr. Ainslie's retort, and the comments of interested parties, newspapers, and denominational organs.

"Nullification: A Process of Government," by Schuyler C. Wallace; *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1930, pp. 347-358.

The gradual acceptance of nullification as a phase of American government is interestingly set forth, backed up by statements from some three hundred district attorneys throughout the country. Among the legal infractions most generally disregarded by prosecutors are violations of Blue Laws, speeding regulations, adultery and other sex crimes. Mr. Wallace points out that the dry laws are fast joining this category in many communities. An attorney with fifty years of practice in Tennessee asserts that he does not remember a single prosecution for adultery in all that time. In some states Negroes are given wide latitude in the matter of bigamy. Ample evidence is offered to support the writer's contention that enforcement officers, to a degree greater than is commonly supposed, are substituting their own judgment for the letter of the law. Four impulses are cited as impelling prosecutors toward this course of nullification: desire for local public approval, belief that it is a waste of time and money to prosecute a case where there is no chance for conviction, opinion that enforcement of a particular law would produce injustice, confidence that better social results will follow a reasonable exercise of discretion on their part.

Why a Genius Went to the Jungle

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

I.

CONSULT a map of Africa. Look for the Gulf of Guinea. Place your pencil upon Cape Lopez. Draw a line directly east for a degree and a half. You are at Lambarene. The village lies a few miles below the equator in French Equatorial Africa. The district of Gaboon was discovered by the Portuguese toward the end of the fifteenth century. The Ogowe River on whose banks Lambarene is situated became known to Europe in 1862. It is a stream some 700 to 800 miles in length, navigable for fair-sized craft about one-third its length, attaining a width of over a mile as it nears the Atlantic.

The village of Lambarene is on the edge of a primeval forest, in malarial lowland, where the atmosphere is always warm and damp. The dry season from the end of May to October boasts an average temperature of from 77 to 82 degrees, with the thermometer at 68 degrees on cool nights. The wet season extends from October well into December and again from mid-January to May, with an average temperature of from 82 to 86 degrees in the shade. Around Christmas there are three or four weeks of continuous sunshine. Cows cannot be kept for lack of good grass. Cereals, potatoes, and rice cannot be grown because the soil is too rapid a hothouse.

Prior to the World War some two hundred whites dwelt in the Ogowe lowlands engaged in the main in lumbering. After three centuries of alcohol and the slave trade, the original eight powerful tribes, who had been in possession of the land before the coming of the white men, dwindled to a mere remnant, and cannibals from the hinterland swarmed in, completely overwhelming the settlements.

THE Negroes of the Ogowe region die too soon of one of many diseases—rheumatism, pyorrhea, heart disease, malaria, abdominal dropsy, swamp fever, dysentery, leprosy, sores, and ulcers. Cancer and appendicitis are very infrequent. The sandflea, introduced from South America in 1872, spread all over Africa in ten brief years doing irreparable damage to the skin of the black man. The tsetse fly, plying its art by day, spreads the dread sleeping sickness and reduces population abnormally. For example, the size of one village on the upper Ogowe dropped from 2,000 to 500 persons within a period of two years, while in Uganda the sleeping sickness in six years took a toll of 200,000, or two-thirds of the population.

II.

IN July, 1913, Albert Schweitzer, then thirty-eight, and his wife arrived at Lambarene, where they entered upon an undenominational and international humanitarian work. The Paris Evangelical Mission, in whose area, but not under whose jurisdiction, the Schweitzers were to carry on, placed a house at their disposal and later provided the ground on which the first rude hospital was built. For more than four and one-half years the physical needs of thousands of sick Negroes were ministered to by this couple. Successful operations were conducted in spite of unsanitary conditions. Fighting against climate and snakes, rising at midnight to ward off attacks of traveler ants with lysol, risking their own health, they labored on. The World War finally interrupted this humanitarian undertaking and brought imprisonment for Schweitzer. After a sojourn in Europe which included two operations and postgraduate work in medicine, Dr. Schweitzer, in the spring of 1924, returned to the edge of the primitive jungle. His wife and little daughter had to remain in Europe because further exposure to the climate of equatorial Africa meant death.

III.

SCHWEITZER was born at Kayserberg in Upper Alsace on January 14, 1875, and was extremely frail as a child. At the village school which he attended he was ridiculed for being a parson's son. At eight years of age he began the study of the New Testament. A dreamy, compassionate lad, he never visited menageries because unable to look upon the misery of the captive animals. At sixteen years of age Schweitzer was an accomplished musician. He also loved history and science. Educated at the Universities of Strassburg, Paris, and Berlin, he took his doctorate in philosophy at twenty-four and the licentiate at twenty-five. From 1902 on, he served as *privatdozent* and professor at the University of Strassburg.

At the age of twenty-four, Schweitzer published his *Religious Philosophy of Kant*. During the next decade his fame as an author became international. His research was in the main connected with New Testament subjects. He followed his *Lord's Supper* and *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 1901, with a much-commented-upon study, later known as *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1906. This volume appeared in various German and English editions and

by itself gave him a secure reputation as a New Testament scholar. In 1911, he published his well-known *Paul and his Interpreters*.

In the realm of music, Schweitzer was also winning renown. His first interpretation of J. S. Bach was published in French, when Schweitzer was only twenty-nine years of age. It soon appeared in German and thereupon in English. Expanded as the years have come and gone, it is today regarded as one of the best appreciations of the German master of music.

There are not many Americans or Europeans who, having achieved an extraordinary reputation in two fields of learning, suddenly turn their backs upon culture and journey to the most difficult and dangerous of places to sacrifice themselves to the needs of a primitive people. Schweitzer's decision to go to Lambarene demands explanation.

IV.

AT the age of thirty, this interpreter of the New Testament and of Bach, entered upon a grueling medical course to fit himself for medical work in Africa. In 1912, Schweitzer took his M.D. In 1913 he and his wife were on their way to Lambarene to help black men just emerging from barbarism.

There are numerous motives for missionary work. International business believes in missions because the missionary is a pioneer of western culture. Nationalism usually avails itself of the opportunity the missionary discovers. Internationalism assumes much religious interpretation. Loyalty to the Master has been a powerful missionary motive. The Golden Rule of sharing with others what we have seems to require missionary endeavor. World-brotherhood rests upon the solid foundation of religion.

What, then, is remarkable about Schweitzer's humanitarian adventure? Just this: that Albert Schweitzer did not go to Africa for any of the reasons outlined above. This European of extraordinary culture, who could today be a very popular professor at any of a dozen European universities, is ministering to backward black men because he regards missionary work as expiatory. Listen to his story in his own words: "A heavy guilt rests upon our culture. What have not the whites of all nations since the era of discovery done to the colored peoples! What does it signify that so many peoples where Christianity came have died out and others are vanishing or at least disintegrating? Who will describe the injustices and atrocities committed by Europeans! Who could estimate what alcohol and the awful diseases we transmitted have done to them? If history told all that has happened between whites and blacks, many pages would be turned without being read. A

heavy guilt rests upon us. We must serve them. When we do good to them, it is not benevolence, it is expiation, it is atonement." One man is in Africa today making reparation for the sin of the western world against the Negro.

V.

SOMEWHERE we have read: "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." Lambarene has not been the grave of Schweitzer. He is a far greater world figure because he went. His *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, 1922, a simple recital of his adventures, has circled the globe. He has become celebrated as a lecturer upon many foundations. His *Decay and Restoration of Civilization, Christianity and the Religions of the World, Memories of Childhood and Youth, and Civilization and Ethics*—all published since 1923—have made the world his debtor. But the glory of his life is the demonstration that Christian brotherhood is not fiction.

Fiat for the Light

IF one could say why man has built
Upon this crust of rock and silt
Looking toward the sky,
One could also answer why
Man has built him temples here:
If the bowels of the earth
Had seen man's being and his birth,
In the heat and darkness there
He had had no time for prayer—
Hence a god who in the night
Gave first his fiat for the light.

DOROTHY TYLER

These Autumn Afternoons

I MUST be silent . . . here's enchanted ground,
A world long lost to everything but dream,
Golden and slow and hushed of every sound,
Where days are less than leaves upon a stream; . . .
Passing and passing, days without a name,
Whose drowsy thought is all a stilled delight
That drifts into this shining hush of fame,
This moment's respite on the edge of night.

I must be silent, here . . . there is no word
So weightless and so golden but would break
This haunted dream in which no sound is heard,
This golden sleeping that must never wake
Till the last leaf has faltered to the ground
With something less . . . and more! . . . than any
sound.

DAVID MORTON

Not in the Headlines

Shopping on a Grand Scale

According to an article in *Nation's Business*, the mere list of things the United States Government buys each year is long enough to fill a book of 600 closely printed pages.

Negro Sorority Wins School Honors

Alpha Kappa Alpha, colored girls' sorority at State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado, during the first three college quarters of its existence last year, won first place once and tied for first place twice in scholarship standing among the twelve sororities on the campus.

Do Latin Americans Hate Us?

With a view toward promoting friendliness between the United States and Latin America, the editors of the *Pan American Magazine* are offering a prize of \$100.00 for the best answers to the following questions: Do Latin Americans *really* dislike North Americans? If so, what are the reasons for their dislike? What are the best means of developing greater friendship?

League of Nations Costs Little

A little less than six million dollars has been allotted for the expenses of the League of Nations by the Supervisory Commission in drafting the budget for 1931. Of this sum, \$1,700,000 will be expended for the International Labor Organization, \$500,000 for the World Court, \$400,000 for new buildings, and \$3,300,000 for the running expenses of the League proper.

Where the Money Goes

Of the 100 Ford families surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the average annual income amounts to \$1,694.43 and the average expenditures \$1,719.83, leaving a deficit of \$25.40. Thirty-two and three-tenths per cent. of the income goes for food, 22.6 per cent. for housing, 12.2 per cent. for clothing, 6 per cent. for fuel and light, 5.2 per cent. for furnishings, and 21.7 per cent. for miscellaneous items.

Crime Consumes More Than Taxes

Fraudulent transactions and crime in the United States exact annually a toll of more than \$7,500,000,000, asserts Dr. Benjamin F. Battin, vice-president of the National Surety Company. American citizens, claims Dr. Battin, lose \$750,000,000 each year as a result of fraudulent bankruptcies and concealment of assets alone. The individual citizen loses twice as much money because of crime as he pays out in the form of Federal income tax.

Cannon-Fodder

Military conscription is practiced in 36 countries of the world, according to the 1929-30 *Armaments Year-Book* of the League of Nations: Albania, Argentine, Belgium, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

Feminist Progress Below the Equator

Women of Argentina, Brazil, and other South American countries have the right to choose their own nationality when married to citizens of countries other than their own.

Watch Us Grow

Approximately 25,000,000 letters a month are carried by the Air Mail lines of the United States Post Office Department. It is estimated that mail planes fly over 58,000 miles daily, of which about 27,000 are covered at night. Before 1923 no flying was done at night.

Despite the Monroe Doctrine

American private citizens and foundations have presented to the League of Nations at various times gifts now amounting to \$5,000,000. This amount is equivalent to the official contribution of any of the League's most important members in the ten years of its existence.

Labor Trouble in Japan

Japan, like many other nations of the world, is at present passing through the throes of industrial strife. It is reported that a strike in one of the largest silk houses in the country was brought about, directly or indirectly, by the awarding of \$1,500,000 to the retiring president of the concern, followed shortly after by a substantial wage-cut for all the workers.

21,000 More Government Workers

The United States Government gave employment to 21,260 more people in the fiscal year 1930 than during the previous year. The number of Government employees as given out by the Civil Service Commissioner is now 608,915, the highest since 1920 when the total, greatly augmented by the War, was still being gradually reduced.

Organized Workers of the World

According to information obtained from the International Federation of Trade Unions, the number of organized workers in the world at the beginning of last year was 44,190,525. Russia led with over 11,000,000, while Germany ranked second with more than 8,000,000. Great Britain and the United States, third and fourth respectively, had together little more than Germany. In proportion to their population Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, and Italy showed unusually high ratings.

Toward Pan-American Good Will

A group of Yale students, members of the Centro Español, are at present touring South America, holding a series of debates in Spanish and English with teams of various South American universities. Much of the expense has been defrayed by funds allotted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with the understanding that the Yale students not only debate but explain to their hosts the work of the International Relations Clubs common to American universities, and wherever possible that they found such clubs in the universities they visit.

Social Progress in Egypt

Nine hundred new schools have been built in Egypt within the last three years. In all the larger towns hospitals and dispensaries are being established, and a drive is on to introduce compulsory education into the country.

Danes Abolish Capital Punishment

One of the chief features of the new penal code adopted recently by the Danish Parliament is the abolition of capital punishment. The death penalty heretofore was decapitation, but it has not been invoked in thirty-eight years.

Isolation—Fact or Fancy?

The sales of the League of Nations publications in America last year were a trifle greater than those in Great Britain, Japan, and Germany combined. The amount of sales, in Swiss francs (five Swiss francs approximate \$1.00), are as follows: United States, 85,205; Great Britain, 36,475; Japan, 24,022; Germany, 23,619.

India Under the Microscope

Dr. William J. Hutchins, president of Berea College, and Dr. William Adams Brown of Union Theological Seminary, have accepted invitations from the Federal Council of Churches to be the American members of a commission which is being sent to study Christian education in India.

The Chain Store Age

The Federal Trade Commission reports that there are at present 56,674 chain stores in the United States. In the meat and grocery line there are more than twice the number of stores in all other lines put together, their number being listed as 38,421. Shoe, tobacco, clothing, department, confectionery, hardware, furniture, and variety stores follow in the order named.

Situation Wanted

Figures on world-wide unemployment conditions as revealed by an article in *Current History* show the following ranking of countries: The United States, 3,000,000 to 5,000,000; Germany, 2,347,000; Great Britain, 1,694,000; Italy, 385,000; Austria, 239,000; Poland, 289,000. In January, 1930, Soviet Russia reported 1,235,000 jobless, and the latest figures from Japan, December, 1929, bring the unemployed in that country over the 300,000 mark.

Which Is Business If Not Recognition

According to a Federated Press report, considerable quantities of American machinery are being shipped to Russia. Twenty thousand tractors ordered by the Soviet government were recently sent to Odessa and other Black Sea ports. The dispatch further states that Amtorg, the American branch of the Soviet trading system, has purchased 17,000 plows, 2,000 grain drills, and 18,000 special drills for cotton and corn.

Whites Supplant Blacks in Dixie Jails

According to Will W. Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, "the prevailing crime wave has had little or no effect upon the Negroes of the South." Figures cited by Dr. Alexander show that in the State of Georgia there were 17 per cent. less Negroes in jail in 1928 than in 1924. Similar trends are apparent in other Southern states. The South Carolina State Board of Welfare reports that in every year between 1910 and 1920 more Negroes than whites were committed to the penitentiary, while since 1920 the reverse has been true.

Missionary Casualties

In the five-year period 1924-29 thirty-three Protestant missionaries and Catholic priests have been killed in China and 98 kidnapped, according to figures released by the *Chinese Recorder*.

Methodism in China

The nomination of Mr. Wang Chih-Ping as Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church of North China has recently been announced. Mr. Wang Chih-Ping is the first Chinese Bishop in the Protestant Church.

Generosity in American Industry

Bethlehem Steel last year rewarded its guiding genius, President Eugene G. Grace, with a bonus of more than \$1,600,000 and allotted to each of its long list of vice-presidents bonus checks of \$125,000 and up.

Crime Wave Ignores Mound Bayou

Because they have not had a prisoner for two years, citizens of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, have torn down their jail to make room for an office building. Mound Bayou is an exclusively Negro community, never having had a single white resident.

Suppression of Protest in Hungary

As a result of so-called agitation on the part of the Socialist newspaper *Nepszava*, the police of Budapest recently issued a decree forbidding the protest demonstration planned by the Social Democrats against the government's alleged indifference toward unemployment in Hungary.

Social Note from the Orient

Mr. Hallett Abend has returned to his post as chief correspondent in China for the *New York Times*. It will be recalled that Mr. Abend's deportation was strongly urged last year by Chinese authorities on the ground of alleged seditious activities. According to information in the *China Critic*, his arrival was not hailed with delight.

White Workers Aid Black in South Africa

The Trade Unions of white workers in the Union of South Africa recently passed a resolution requesting the government to modify the regulations controlling the movements of Negroes within the Union. Official discrimination has hitherto been the policy of the organization, based on the belief that the white worker must be protected against Negro competition.

Mexico's War on Ignorance

In a concerted drive against illiteracy, federal and state governments in Mexico have combined to appropriate \$31,900,000 for education. Aaron Saenz, Secretary for Education, announced that more secondary schools would be established near the border so that Mexican children would not have to attend American schools, thus "de-Mexicanizing our population."

600,000 Air Passengers

The tremendous strides being made in air transportation are strikingly revealed in figures compiled by a research committee of the League of Nations. Whereas only 6,500 passengers crossed the English Channel by airplane in 1920, the number of such crossings reached 48,000 in 1929. The value of goods imported and exported by the Paris airport has increased by 250 per cent. since 1927. The regular air lines of the world carried 600,000 passengers and 14,000 tons of mail in 1929.

What Is A Modern High School?

GOODWIN WATSON

I.

THE home town high school is a source of considerable local pride. It has a new swimming pool. There is an auditorium with a stage on which scenic drops and modulated lights may be produced with surprising facility. Its basketball team was runner-up in the state tournament. Its laboratories offer expensive breakables for use in physics and chemistry. The school provides shop activities and household arts equipment. Ninety per cent of the teachers have a bachelor's degree, and a few have achieved M.A. distinction. Yet with the exception of its extra-class activities the school might well pass as an institution of a century or more ago. There is much stir about modern educational theories. The term "research" is not unknown in faculty conferences. The principal is generally recognized as an intelligent fellow, alive, and concerned with the educational welfare of the community. Nevertheless, adequate recognition of any of half a dozen established truths in educational science would revolutionize the school.

I do not refer to recent fads in pedagogy. The neglect in practice of results of research published in October only to be challenged in May, may well be encouraged. The basic principles of this needed modernization have, for the most part, been recognized in the science of education for a generation. They have had enormous influence upon kindergartens and some upon colleges. But secondary schools, public and private, have remained almost unaffected. Administrators and teachers could, of course, have passed creditable examinations on these principles. But the institution has run along unmolested. Occasional schoolmen, perceiving the hiatus between educational theory and practice have protested. The protests have usually been brief and futile against inertia of college entrance requirements and the greater conservatism of parents and school boards. I know of only two avowedly experimental secondary schools in the United States, and so slight are their innovations that it would be hard to distinguish either of them from the ordinary run.

II.

THE half dozen truths which underlie the unduly delayed reconstruction of the high school can be very simply stated. Few will seem worth arguing about in theory, although each would be educational dynamite in practice. First, people differ widely in capacities and interests, no two students being alike.

Second, most things learned in school are forgotten in a month or so if not used. Third, the main result of learning particular things is knowing those particular things; not generally increased mental ability. Fourth, as children grow older their ability to learn increases. The man in middle life can master new ideas and skills more readily than can the child or adolescent. Fifth, pupils learn best when they have a desire to learn, a sense of need, and a keen satisfaction in the results of their learning. Finally it should be recognized that almost everyone is going to high school. Secondary schools are no longer merely pre-professional training institutes for a small number of potential doctors, lawyers, ministers, and idlers.

Nine-tenths of what is taught in the average high school is in need of reconstruction in the light of these six simple truths. Certain subjects came into the curriculum because they were important to know. Latin was once a language of commerce, trigonometry a skill for surveying. When civilization changed, those who excelled in such arts were left with no job except teaching others. Challenged to defend their life work, they evolved the plausible theory that in some occult fashion persons who studied these disciplines came out with harder, keener, better tempered and more highly polished intellects. It was an attractive theory because obviously the scholar had a better mind than the uneducated loafer. The fallacy was revealed when tests demonstrated that the scholar had had a better mind before ever he began his parsing and computing. Comparison of students of equal intellect, some of whom studied foreign languages for a year while others studied general science or civics or modern verse or bookkeeping or newspapers and movie titles, revealed negligible differences in intellectual growth. Intrinsically useless mental activities have no superiority for mind training. It is clear that what is to be learned in high school will have to be defended on the ground of the importance of learning those specific knowledges, attitudes, or skills.

* * *

III.

A SCHOOL which started out definitely to meet the needs of modern adolescents rather than merely to see how much of the present chaff could be justified, would, I believe, eventuate with departments of work very different from those traditionally revered. Every valuable unit of work in education could be organized sensibly under one of six departments.

These would not be English, mathematics, history, science, and the like. They would be main trunk-lines of adolescent experience. They would give a functional tone to all the units within the department. I suggest a Department of Health, Department of Vocations, Department of Leisure, Department of Home Participation, Department of Citizenship, and Department of Philosophy. Within each department would be offered several hundred units of work, to be carried on inside or outside the schoolroom, by individuals or by groups, some units requiring only an hour or two, others requiring several months of work.

The Department of Health would be concerned with both physical and mental health. Among the units it offered might be muscle building, complexion improving, choice of diet, first aid, relaxation and rest, getting over the blues, avoiding inferiority feelings, selecting physicians, and lowering community death rates. Most of these units would involve doing something, not merely talk about health. Tests would be in terms of changes in the physique, emotional patterns, and community practice of those who participate.

The Department of Vocations would include the units which have a direct bearing on the part of the pupils in the work of the world. For most pupils this should surely include supervised participation in some jobs. One consequence of encouraging adults to do some of the learning is that young people balance up by doing some of the working. In addition to offering pupils a chance to earn some money and to learn a great many desirable habits of life in each of a selected series of occupations, this area of the curriculum should provide the necessary preparation for those of professional bent. For some, physics and chemistry and mathematics, for others several languages or office skills may be demanded. For those whose professional success demands admission to a college which proudly selects its students because of proven mastery of relatively useless and boresome details, some few weeks should be reserved for intensive assimilation of these tricks of the pedants. The main contribution of this department, however, should be the units offered in the interpretation of work. Some will survey the possible vocations for this generation in terms of the requirements for success, the service they render and the satisfactions they bring. Other units will call our present economic order up for examination. Opportunity will be offered to know and to appraise what trade unions and employers' associations and communists and efficiency experts have to say about the best way of distributing the good things of life.

The Department of Leisure has the most important area of training. With some machines now producing more through the attention of 100 men than was produced a year before by the labor of 8,000 men, the six-hour day and the five-day week are not remote

dreams. The vocations of most workers cannot be taught in schoolrooms. They can and will be learned on the job. Many jobs can be mastered in relatively few weeks. The really challenging task for education is the enrichment of leisure. The modern high school will offer units in athletics, in producing plays, making mechanical models, reading literature, playing music, dancing, telling stories, creating with rhythm, color, and form in every sort of medium. Travel and, for a few, foreign languages and mathematics, may enrich leisure. Special encouragement will be given to recreational athletics which can continue throughout life, to golf, tennis, swimming and hiking rather than basketball. The aim of the department will be to provide opportunity for each pupil to explore through participation every phase of wholesome recreation and the creative use of leisure which any considerable group of adolescents have found satisfying.

The Department of Home Participation is concerned with those problems and possibilities which arise in families. Frankwood Williams of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has said that nothing else that an adolescent has to learn matters so much for future happiness as his achieving independence from his parents and a normal interest in the opposite sex. No high school ought to be permitted to grant honors to any pupil who has not made the grade in these disciplines. It is the privilege of this department to offer the reading, study, discussion, and activities which will lead to desirable ideals and practice in courtship and marriage. Other units might contribute to the selection and purchasing of household furnishings, making a budget work, care of babies, or learning to enjoy younger brothers and sisters. It is obvious that a school for adolescents which is not coeducational is hopelessly handicapped. Happy emotional adjustments do not develop by describing them, wishing for them, or practising substitutes for them.

In the Department of Citizenship would be grouped those enterprises through which an adolescent can contribute to the affairs of his town, state, country, and planet. This does not mean the traditional civics of the curriculum. It means the study of government as it actually goes on in city councils, county court houses, and national assemblies. Politics are mainly matters of intense human concern. They are best known by entering into campaigns, dealing with leaders, and, perhaps, getting occasional fingers burned. Probably schools should remain non-partisan, encouraging groups of pupils to support, in earnest, enterprises which now arouse mere verbal allegiance. International peace is not primarily a matter for holiday orations. It is a complex way of living in which adolescents can participate.

Teachers of history have often claimed that the

study of the past is justified by the illumination it brings into present crises. Few have been bold enough to venture out upon student participation in modern affairs, letting history contribute what is really important for the understanding of policies regarding prohibition, crime, immigration, divorce, tariff, League of Nations, government ownership, naval propaganda, and free speech. This is dangerous business. Vested interests in things as they have been, may be suspicious of any critical examination of organizations and events. The modern high school will be a storm-center, not an isle of peaceful seclusion from current life.

Philosophy may be too formal and dusty a term to designate the department responsible for encouraging the curiosities and speculations of youth. Within its supervision may come those phases of science which lead to a conception of the vastness of the universe, the relativity of measurements, the origin of the world, the evolution of life, and the mathematics of motion. Most of the units might be formulated about questions which everyone asks and to which there is no one approved answer. What shall we think of death? Why suffering? What is the good life? It is a legitimate function of education to set before inquiring minds the best answers the thinkers of all ages have given to these questions. What is contemplated is not propaganda for one viewpoint, but rather the enrichment of whatever viewpoint home and religious training may make acceptable to any student, by the inclusion of all that is found true in the thinking of others.

MY envisioned high school will set forth a thousand or more of these units, a sort of cafeteria of desirable experiences. Each pupil at the beginning of each term and at such other times as he may wish, will receive the guidance of a teacher-counsellor in making up his contract of units to be worked out. He will be encouraged to do some work in each of the six departments. Some of his units will be matters for individual mastery, others will involve participation with groups. He will organize his time as his program demands. He may work at one project for days, or may divide his efforts among several. Much of his time, perhaps half of it, will be spent outside school walls participating in the recreations, vocations, politics, and group life of the world around him. Tests will be used to help the pupil discover what he has yet to learn, not to reward or dishonor him. His incentive lies in the worth of each activity itself.

* * *

IV.

SOME may wonder where teachers will be found for such an enterprise. One is reminded of the parable of the schoolmaster who asked his children what they wanted to find out, and turned away sadly because his own learning touched not on these things.

But the fact is that high schools are taught by ordinary teachers now. Perhaps the inadequacies of some of these teachers as guides for life would be more apparent under the proposed reorganization, but they would be no more real than they already are. A teacher, ineffective at best, does not become more so because he is permitted to introduce pupils to important rather than to trivial concerns. He becomes merely more obviously regrettable. But the effective teacher, the personality who made opportunity to deal with real life choices even amid the chaos of present requirements, would have his opportunity multiplied. Also it is conceivable that the more worthy definition of the task might attract to high school teaching persons broader in understanding and more truly masters of living.

Happily, and among educational Utopias, strangely, this modern high school appears to be entirely feasible at the present time. The choice of schemes for administering it may vary. But administrators exist to create ways of doing what is desirable, not to evaluate educational policies by their ease of administration. In all faith, I invite the progressive educators of 1930 to the creation of a high school educationally as well as architecturally modern.

The Flaming Clod

HE hacked the slashings till he ached in sweat;
He fed the clearing fires; the first call
Of chanticleer, in fair weather and wet,
Found him at toil—this clownish, great-thewed
thrall.

The chores in coop, in pen, in mucked cowshed,
Held tired muscles tense, as in a bight,
Till summer sun eased in his crimson bed;
The wheeling hawk was smothered by the night.

But as he lay awake in the soft spring,
And winds brought fragrance from the throbbing
breast
Of earth and allwhere was a quickening,
A light flamed in the clod; he could not rest.

New stirrings, strivings pulsed and beat; his eyes,
Shot with the dust of stars and far things, sped
The way to go, steep slope and sky-scraped rise;
Glimpsed soul-ache, heart-ache, and the thorn-
crowned head.

Into the world of men this yokel came,
Led by his dreams and walking without fear,
The narrow, rugged way, footsore and lame;
Another gift-sent Lincoln, clean, austere.

ALEX R. SCHMIDT

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

The Coming of the War

WHEN a dozen excited men stand around an open powder barrel with flaming torches in their hands, jostling one another in reckless anger, who is responsible for the terrific explosion that ensues? That is the question raised by the World War. For some years it was widely assumed that Germany had deliberately thrown a torch into the powder barrel. Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles, whatever legal differences may exist between the French *responsabilité* and the German *Schuld* (guilt), was widely interpreted to mean this very thing. But new evidence made it necessary to review and revise this verdict. More than 35,000 official documents bearing on this question have already been published and others are in the offing. And this does not include the flood of memoirs and apologies which almost every actor in the drama gave to the world. That is why "revision" continues unabated.

Gooch's well-known attempt at revision was premature and soon outdated. Five years later Sidney B. Fay undertook to summarize his long and careful studies with the result that he pronounced the sole responsibility of Germany a myth and called for the revision of Article 231 and the Treaty. Now another monumental work makes its appearance, *The Coming of the War, 1914*, by Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt of the University of Chicago. Of the more than 1,000 pages of this study, only 174 deal with the situation prior to 1914; the rest of the volumes are concerned chiefly with the events of July, 1914. The work is based almost wholly on first hand materials. Controversial matters are handled without mention of names. Thus Harry Elmer Barnes is not mentioned once, but neither is Renouvin nor Montgelas' summarizing volume.

Professor Schmitt's conclusions may be stated as follows: In 1914 Europe was divided into two hostile camps, suspicious of one another, heavily armed, and in no wise shrinking from the decision of arms. There was no adequate machinery for international adjustments, war was the final and traditional instrument of national policy. Under the circumstances, "the Great War was inevitable." As for the immediate causes, a dastardly crime determined Austria to eliminate once and for all the Serbian danger, and this decision had the firm support of Germany. Russia was just as determined not to permit the annihilation of Serbia and in this it was strongly seconded by France. England joined the *entente* due to its moral obligation and in accord with what it conceived as its national interests. For the action of both sides there is ample reason and even justification. "It is futile to refine the issue further."

While there is reason and justification there is also blame and responsibility. The German statesmen "may be acquitted of deliberate intent to precipitate a European war, but they did elect . . . to spring a crisis of the first magnitude on Europe. It was they who took the gambler's plunge." On the other hand, "the Tsar, the chief of staff, and the foreign minister knew that Rus-

sian mobilization would be followed by German mobilization and war. From one point of view, then, the Russian statesmen 'willed the war' when in defiance of warnings from Germany they ordered general mobilization. . . ."

This is no place for detail. But Professor Schmitt has undertaken a very difficult task in trying to interpret the motives of the various actors when the situation was shifting from day to day, and even hour to hour. He is obviously aware of this and moves cautiously in terms like "this seems to indicate", "it is probable", "it is reasonable to believe." Now and then he is more positive and at such times some will hesitate to follow. Who will determine when an action shall be described as "duplicity" or "cleverness", a "threat" or a "warning", a "provocation" or a "precaution", "shameless" or "unfortunate", "intimidation" or "pressure"? Interpreting motives is no easy matter, as the controversial literature on the subject shows. On larger issues it would seem that these volumes will provoke much further discussion of the rôle of Grey and Poincaré, the Russian mobilization measures since July 25, Russian intransigence in regard to Serbia, and the belated German peace efforts in Vienna.

Professor Schmitt does not call for a revision of Article 231; his understanding of that article is purely legal. Yet his conclusions are plainly that responsibility is divided. Because of the blundering of diplomats, misunderstandings, the precipitate rush of events, the suspicions and intransigence of governments, and the recklessness and double-dealing of high officials, war came to a world which was ready for it and had long expected it. That is a far cry from the wartime thesis of the Allied countries. (Published by Scribners. 2 vols. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$10.00 postpaid.)

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

The Quicksand Under Versailles

THERE are thousands of volumes in print which seek to interpret the causes of the World War. Now comes one devoted exclusively to the question of whether or not the Treaty of Versailles rests upon a falsehood when its framers state that Germany and her allies were solely responsible for the war. The title of this significant study is *A Refutation of the Versailles War Guilt Thesis* and its author is Dr. Alfred von Wegerer, editor of *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, a monthly periodical devoted to the discussion of war guilt. Harry Elmer Barnes has furnished an extravagantly laudatory introduction for the American edition.

The author has an easy time making mincemeat of the report of *The Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties*, of which Secretary Lansing and James Brown Scott were members. He likewise disposes effectively of many assertions made in the Allies' ultimatum and covering note. I have a feeling, however, that Dr. von Wegerer attempts to disprove entirely too much. He divides the indictment into eleven charges and seeks to refute all of them. Concerning the menace of "the Prussian spirit," he says: "Without the development of the

warlike spirit which was made orderly through discipline and nurtured by tradition, Prussia could not have fulfilled her historical mission." He denies that "the gospel of hatred and force" was preached in Germany. If that were true, Germany would stand out in striking contrast to other countries. The writer calmly asserts: "We have seen that the inevitability of a war on two or more fronts made it imperative to invade Belgium as soon as possible." Not a word of regret or penitence for this moral outrage! It is one thing to say that the Central Powers were not alone responsible for the war; it is an entirely different thing to paint Germany as fair and lovely as a lily. If the American reader can avoid irritation at the tendency to whitewash Germany, he will find this an illuminating volume. (Published by Knopf. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.00 postpaid.)

K. P.

Interesting Economics

REAL Wages in the United States, 1890-1926 is a remarkable book and should be so heralded. It is remarkable because of the boldness and enormous industry employed by the author, Paul H. Douglas, in bringing together a mass of statistical material bearing on hours of labor, earnings, and unemployment in a great variety of industries in the United States, also in the simplifying of these materials into a few index numbers. For the first time we are shown in a year-by-year measurement the changing social and economic welfare of our laboring classes.

Among its conclusions are the following: The average hourly earnings of 14 million workers in this country were 125 per cent. higher in 1926 than in the nineties; but since money will not buy nearly so much today as it bought before 1900, this rise means that the wage of working men in 1926 bought only 38 per cent. more than it bought in 1890. But wage earners do not work as many hours now as they worked at the close of the last century. In fact, they work 15 per cent. less hours per week; consequently the full time weekly earnings would not show a 38 per cent. increase but only a 20 or 25 per cent. increase. This 15 per cent. decline in the working hours of all these millions of people is itself significant. It is the first composite figure for increase in leisure I have seen.

Not every one works a full week, of course, nor do employees work 52 weeks in the year. It is therefore desirable to learn the probable amount of unemployment. Professor Douglas estimates an average unemployment of seven per cent. for the whole thirty-year period in the manufacturing industries, in manufacturing and building construction nine per cent., and ten per cent. in manufacturing, building and mining combined. That at any one time in these industries one in every ten men is unemployed seems a little high. It will be interesting to learn what the present census of unemployment will show.

Professor Douglas has done what others have not done, partly because he has been bold enough to build up his index numbers on estimates. For instance, the retail prices from 1900 to 1907 are for only a small number of food articles, of which meat is a large proportion. But by comparing the course of wholesale prices of meats and other items with the course of retail prices, he has been able to arrive at figures to use for these earlier years. So also from the course of union wage rates, he was able to make similar estimates of earnings.

Estimating is done in all fields of statistics. For example, we do a good deal of it in connection with world populations, estimates based on the most meagre and fragmentary data. So also we do much estimating in regard to total national incomes in the different countries, and the practice is considered good form. But here-

tofore our economists and sociologists appear to have been more interested in national incomes and world populations than in statistics of the welfare of the working classes.

Professor Douglas's measurements will be put to good use. My prediction is that this book will turn out to be one of the most valuable that has been published on social conditions, and that it will be much quoted in years to come. If we had had a communist society or a labor government, such a book would have appeared long before this. But with the development of statistics and with our growing interest in the purchasing power of the laboring classes, if not in their welfare, the man who follows Douglas, or let us say Douglas in his second edition, will find the task of making accurate measurements considerably easier.

I dislike to conclude this review without saying that the book is a mine of useful information about many phases of the economic and social conditions of the working classes other than those indicated in the few summaries quoted above. There is a good deal of economics in the book also—interesting economics. As one reads along, one appreciates the years of labor the author has put into the book, and one is conscious of the hardiness and zest of the explorer pushing on to new discoveries. (Published by Houghton Mifflin Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$7.50 postpaid.)

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

Grounds for Optimism

AS an antidote for pessimism engendered by dire prophecies of another world war in 1935, *Education and International Relations*, by Daniel Alfred Prescott, is worthy of strong recommendation. This important volume is the result of two years' study in Europe under a fellowship from the Bureau of International Research at Harvard. The writer traveled in England and on the continent and made intensive investigations in many educational institutions.

The enormous influence of tradition is illustrated by references to the British public schools, which, of course, are really private schools. The products of these institutions "rule the British Empire." They are schooled in the classics and are not properly introduced to the social sciences. Consequently, they are poorly informed on world affairs. The significance of national consciousness is revealed by an examination of post-war trends in German education. The writer is of the opinion that the conservative, aristocratic and militaristic spirit is far less widespread and influential than the international and pacifist emphasis prevalent in liberal and socialistic circles.

Class consciousness is a dominant fact in Europe and profoundly affects education. In those sections where industrial class consciousness is most intense, abhorrence of chauvinism and militarism is pronounced. The socialist, says the writer, "is a crusader with an enormous hatred of war that has certainly not been artificially induced." Whereas the conservative schools are still teaching a narrow nationalism, a new spirit is being manifested in many institutions. "New-type schools and experimental schools are usually progressive, pacifist, internationally minded. . . . The picture of the schools serving the common people is . . . one of new hope, new purpose, of international conciliation. In every country visited, and especially in England, France, and Austria, these schools are talking, thinking, teaching peace. The idealism of the teachers is almost pathetic at times in the light of international facts."

In many European countries the organized teachers are exerting a powerful influence for peace. The National Union of Teachers in France, for example, adopted a strong pronouncement in

which they said: "We wish no more history books or reading books that will take the little ones of France daily into a Museum of War Horrors. We wish no more misrepresentation in history that contains the germs of defiance, of suspicion, of hatred, and of war. We shall make a list of authors who, in their books, have failed to tell the truth and have followed the dictates of hatred." The official support of the General Federation of Labor of France was secured in promoting a boycott against offensive text-books. An organized group of teachers in Geneva created a storm by advocating the complete demobilization of the Swiss army. This group received substantial backing from the Congress of the Pedagogical Society of French-speaking Switzerland.

An extraordinarily effective campaign of international education is being conducted by the League of Nations Unions, especially in England. In the latter country the Union has nearly 800,000 members. Through its efforts children in four-fifths of the localities of England are receiving instruction as to the work and significance of the League of Nations. Effective use is being made of international literature. The League of Nations itself has launched several projects of international education with vast possibilities for the future. The recommendations of a League sub-committee on suggestions for the instruction of children in the aims of the League are printed as an appendix.

Read this illuminating volume and watch your spirits rise!
(Published by Harvard University Press. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.50 postpaid.)

K. P.

A Christian International

BORN in a wartime crisis, nurtured in the critical and exciting post-war world mood, the Fellowship of Reconciliation has had a career far more romantic and adventurous than many are aware. The story of the F. O. R. has been told by Lilian Stevenson in an eighty-four page booklet, and though it is an official "write-up," it moves along with stirring tale and rousing incident. When people set out to take the principles of Jesus with straightforward sincerity of purpose and apply them to practical affairs, whatever the cost to themselves, something is likely to happen. That something *has* happened is evident to any reader of this record, despite the patent humility with which it is set forth.

Space in great abundance would be required in order to tell the development of the F. O. R., its international conferences, its great variety of practical services in country after country, its new spirit toward education, its daring post-war relief in Germany and France, its youth camps and councils, the work of its group for voluntary civil service in Liechtenstein, the "conscientious affirmation" of many members against war and military service, its experiments in strike settlements, work for unemployed, political mediation, and especially the effect of the movement on many of the churches. Above all, and beneath all, is the sense of world-wide unity that has already been built up—that feeling, as one member has described it, when "We knew ourselves to be no longer lonely pioneers but part of a great unseen company." That company grows apace throughout the world, if slowly, and is even now a power to be reckoned with. Lilian Stevenson has managed to convey admirably the intangibles that have built the F. O. R., and to interweave them with tangible achievement. Her story is calculated to hearten anyone who, in discouragement, feels that the way of the pacifist is remote from realities and devoid of heroics. Not only members of the Fellowship but those who relish concrete examples of spiritual power when loosed for hard struggle will find joy in this heartening booklet. (Order through F. O. R., 383 Bible House, Astor Place, New York. 25c per copy.) D. A.

Eugene V. Debs

HERETOFORE there has been no good biography of Gene Debs. Now McAlister Coleman in *Eugene V. Debs—A Man Unaframed*, has admirably supplied the need for a readable, forthright and accurate record of this unique personality.

Mr. Coleman wisely devotes the larger part of his book to Debs' earlier years which have been little known even by those who were the intimate friends of his later life. Debs was a son of Alsatian immigrants, and his boyhood was a boyhood characteristic of the Middle West in the days just before and just after the Civil War. He was not a proletarian or of proletarian stock in the sense in which the words are commonly understood in Europe. His passionate identification of himself with the working class was a matter of choice rather than necessity. He entered upon the kind of career in local Democratic politics in Terre Haute which might easily have led him to Congress, as it did lead him to the Legislature. Although one of the early organizers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and well established as a successful labor official, he turned his back on this movement in order to found the industrial union of railroad workers, known as the American Railway Union, at a salary of \$75 per month. The A. R. U. grew with leaps and bounds. Early in its career it was caught in the famous Pullman strike of which Mr. Coleman gives a graphic picture. The strike was broken by Cleveland's high-handed use of Federal troops against the protest of Governor Altgeld and by the first dramatic use of the injunction in a major labor dispute. For violating this judge-made injunction, Debs and other leaders were sent to jail in Woodstock.

It was not until after his imprisonment, or rather after the Bryan campaign of 1896, that Debs definitely became a Socialist. As a Socialist he was never the organizer that he was among the railroad workers. He was the leader of his party with an unrivaled hold on its affections through all his life. But he was not its philosopher or its tactician.

When the United States finally entered the World War, Debs was no longer young. He suffered from a chronic heart disease. His strength had been partly burned out in the intensity of the struggle. Yet he was one of the outstanding heroes of the War. In a time of hysteria and blood lust, he held fast to his faith in the essential decency of men, in the powers of the workers to build a better world, in a kind of democracy which cannot be saved but only lost by the madness of imperialist war. For saying no more than is generally admitted today by historians, Debs was sent to jail for ten years. The difference is that Debs spoke for liberty and truth at a time when it was dangerous to do so; he did not wait to say, "Now it can be told."

It is one of the blackest marks on Woodrow Wilson's record that long after the War was over he bitterly refused any pardon to Debs. And it is one of history's ironies that a Warren Gamaliel Harding should have been in position to sit in judgment on him. After his pardon—which did not include restoration to citizenship—Debs with unabated zeal returned to the service of his party despite the blandishments of the Communists. His enthusiasm for Russia did not include enthusiasm for the Communist method of dictatorship. But the real story of Eugene V. Debs closes with his release from Atlanta where he was the best loved prisoner in the shameful history of American prisons. The closing years were years of broken health but indomitable spirit. For Gene Debs was, as few men ever have been, the master of his fate, the captain of his soul. (Published by Greenberg. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.50.)

NORMAN THOMAS

Women and the War

WHAT is to happen to women like me when this war ends—if ever it ends? I am twenty years of age, yet I know nothing of life but death, fear, blood, and the sentimentality that glorifies these things in the name of patriotism. I watch my own mother stupidly, deliberately, though unthinkingly—for she is a kind woman—encourage the sons of other women to kill their brothers; I see my own father—a gentle creature who would not willingly harm a fly—applaud the latest scientist to invent a mechanical device guaranteed to crush his fellow-beings to pulp in their thousands. And my generation watches these things and marvels at the blind foolishness of it

"Tell them that all the ideals and beliefs you ever had have crashed about your gun-deafened ears—that you don't believe in God or them or the infallibility of England or anything but bloody war and wounds and foul smells and smutty stories and smoke and bombs and lice and filth and noise, noise, noise—that you live in a world of cold sick fear, a dirty world of darkness and despair—that you want to crawl ignominiously home away from these painful writhing things that once were men, these shattered, tortured faces that dumbly demand what it's all about in Christ's name—that you want to find somewhere where life is quiet and beautiful and lovely as it was before the world turned khaki and blood-colored—that you want to creep into a refuge where there is love instead of hate. . . . Tell them these things—and they will reply on pale mauve deckled-edged paper calling you a silly, hysterical little girl. . . .

"Enemies? Our enemies aren't the Germans. Our enemies are the politicians we pay to keep us out of war and who are too damned inefficient to do their jobs properly. After two thousand years of civilization this folly happens. It is time women took a hand. The men are failures—this war shows that. Women will be the ones to stop war, you'll see. If they can't do anything else they can refuse to bring children into the world to be maimed and murdered when they grow big enough. Once women buckled on their men's swords—once they believed in that 'death-or-glory-boys' jingo—but this time they're in it themselves—they're seeing for themselves—and the pretty romance has gone. War is dirty. There's no glory in it. Vomit and blood. Look at us. We came out here puffed out with patriotism—there isn't one of us who wouldn't go back tomorrow. The glory of the war—my God!"

Random quotations, these, from *Step-Daughters of War*, by Helen Z. Smith—a picture of a woman's experiences as an ambulance driver during the late holocaust in behalf of democracy. The sincerity and realism of the book make it undeniably an autobiography. If this is what war is, and what it does to women of the writer's class—gently bred, intelligent, educated women whom England like other countries impressed into service under that noble banner, "Doing Their Bit,"—there is no need to ask what it does to men.

One Woman's War (anonymous) is a novel of another stripe. One dislikes to dismiss an entire piece of fiction as cheap, but it is the only adjective applicable to this wholly meretricious, sensational, tabloid version of the adventures that befell a supersophisticated, slangy young American who happened to be living in Belgium in 1914. It is a jazz account of a jazz war, done in a jazz manner; had the story been written around the Thirty Years' War instead of the World War, the heroine would no doubt have had to title her book, "The Confessions of a Camp Follower." It is not a work to be recommended to anyone in

search of authentic war material written from a woman's point of view. Miss Smith's book is. (*Step-Daughters of War*, published by E. P. Dutton, \$2.50. *One Woman's War* published by Macaulay, \$2.50. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.00 postpaid.)

G. E. M.

Mr. Mencken As Theologian

IT is easy to write a book on religion in the manner of H. L. Mencken. In the latest product of his pen, *Treatise on the Gods*, he limits religion strictly to magic by definition, lets the vast panorama of religious life in many centuries pass in review, and then on the basis of the analyzed evidence comes to the conclusion that religion is magic. "Whether it happens to show itself in the artless mumbo-jumbo of a Winnebago Indian or in the elaborately refined and metaphysical rites of a Christian archbishop, its single function is to give man access to the powers which seem to control his destiny, and its single purpose is to induce these powers to be friendly to him."

Mr. Mencken is not the first to discover in his conclusions what already exists in his premises, and perhaps he ought to be commended for stating his bias so frankly. While in the main he never departs from the course of the argument set by his frank prejudice, he does in spite of himself catch occasional glimpses of the metaphysical, ethical, and esthetic aspects of the religious life. But they appeal to him no more than magic. The metaphysicians he abhors more than the theologians. Ethics does not interest him because he does not believe that anything can be done to save fool man. Only the esthetic charm of simple religion wins praise from him.

Of the quality of Mencken's fanaticisms one can gain no better picture than in his violent and ridiculous anti-Semitism. "The Jews," he declares, "could be put down very plausibly as the most unpleasant race ever heard of. As commonly encountered they lack many of the qualities that mark the civilized man: courage, dignity, incorruptibility, ease, confidence. They have vanity without pride, voluptuousness without taste, and learning without wisdom. Their fortitude, such as it is, is wasted upon puerile objects." At first blush this prejudice appears totally capricious until one reflects that a cynical utilitarian could hardly be expected to look with favor upon a race that has produced so many resolute prophets and Utopians from Amos to Jesus and from Karl Marx to Walter Rathenau.

"When men cease to fear the gods they cease to be religious in any rational sense," declares Mr. Mencken. One wonders what he would make of a man like Gandhi who seems singularly disinclined to use magic in bending Providence to his purposes, but the source of whose activities is indubitably religious; or Gandhi's friend, C. F. Andrews; or David Livingstone; or Baron von Huegel; or Spinoza; or Judah Magnes. Since the enlightened spirits of the household of faith have fought an age-old battle against the magic formulas which impinge upon the poetic metaphors of religion on the one side as metaphysical concepts do on the other, one could well hail Mr. Mencken as an ally if only he possessed some moral earnestness. But he laughs at human irrationalities without any hope that men can be saved from their stupidity. In fact, one suspects that he would be shocked to find any capacities in man beyond those he grants to the objects of his sneers; such a discovery would rob him of self-assurance which is the center of his life and the basis of his art. (Published by Knopf. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.00 postpaid.)

R. N.

WE RECOMMEND

My Life, by Leon Trotsky. Scribner's. 599 pages. \$5.00. The fascinating story of an almost incredible life, playing in all parts of the world. Intended as an *apologia* and an attack on Stalin, it goes far beyond this in interest. Students of the Russian revolution must read it.

Europe, a History of Ten Years, by Raymond Leslie Buell. Macmillan. 452 pages. \$2.50. A fine handbook, summarizing briefly and often interestingly the events of importance to peace and progress. Written with Buell's usual clarity.

An Epoch and a Man. Martin Van Buren and His Times, by Denis Tilden Lynch. Horace Liveright. 566 pages. \$5.00. President Van Buren's life has not been told often. The writing of this book necessitated much out-of-the-way research. What emerges is in fact the history of "an epoch and a man."

Great Britain, a Study of Civic Loyalty, by John M. Gaus. University of Chicago Press. 329 pages. \$3.00. Really, more a study of education in citizenship. How the young idea is taught to snoot. A serious and rather dry, but valuable exposition of the forces operating to hold Britain together despite strain and stress.

The American Labor Year Book, 1930, by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, Nathan Fine, Director. 283 pages. \$3.00. This yearbook once more demonstrates how unique it is and how utterly indispensable for anyone who uses reference material (and general educational matter) in its field. Especially of interest this year are the data on rising new political labor groups.

Youth In Danger, by Marguerite Marsh. Published by the National Consumers' League in coöperation with the Industrial Commission of Georgia. 12 pages. 10 cents. Miss Marsh, who is research secretary of the Consumers' League, made a first-hand study of boys and girls who suffered injuries while employed in the mills and factories of Georgia during the years 1927 and 1928. The age of these minors, the injuries they suffered, and the inadequate compensation they received form the chief divisions of this valuable pamphlet. Georgia was selected as typical of states having more or less backward child labor laws.

God, by J. Middleton Murray. Harpers. 344 pages. \$3.00. The author sets himself the task of reconciling science and religion and does so by leaving Christianity and God, or gods of any description, on a lower, outgrown plane of emergent evolution, and by emphasizing the limits of science to fields of truth in which he is not interested and which he scarcely touches. To use "God" as the title of a book which concludes that "God does not exist" is somewhat misleading; and to use the word "emergent" in a philosophy which has advanced beyond God is hardly fair. Perhaps the book is destined to clothe the nakedness of the human mind, now awkward in its outgrown Christianity. But the author of "Jesus—Man of Genius" and this book is young yet, and of exceptional intellectual brilliance; and perhaps ere he is twice as old, he will have found a worth while content for the idea "God." He is a thinker who should produce still greater books.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Father of Five Protests

WHY call the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act *the* prohibition and dry laws when they are neither? They are not *the* prohibition laws because there are many prohibition laws against stealing, killing, lying (perjury), etc. Look at all the laws against automobiles, parking near hydrants, parking in restricted zones, driving while intoxicated, driving past lights, etc. Yet we do not call all these *prohibition* laws. And while we see long lists of violators daily, they are not bold enough to organize and protest against the laws. The Eighteenth Amendment and Volstead Act are not *the* dry laws because they prohibit only alcoholic content, not drinks. They may be called the alcohol law or the alcoholic drink law. There is no necessity for intoxicating liquor as there are plenty of fine tasty drinks that are not intoxicating, and one is all the better for drinking them. Have those who are opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act considered the children and mothers? Which crowd is it better for us to join? Because it is expensive to enforce the auto laws and because they are violated daily is no reason to modify or repeal them; neither is the expense of enforcing the alcohol law or its violation a reason for modification or repeal.

Lackawanna, N. Y.

ALFRED KIEFER (Father of Five)

Remedying Unemployment

ILLIONS of unemployed people are seeking employment while billions of dollars' worth of goods remain unused. We suffer from underconsumption not from overproduction, but how can the workers of our nation buy back the goods they produce and pay landlords an annual land rent of thirteen thousand million dollars for nothing? (Landlords do not provide land). The payment of that tremendous land rent to landlords for nothing leaves the workers thirteen thousand million dollars short of their purchasing power and that is why factories are clogged with goods, business men fail and millions of unemployed people are forced to compete for the jobs of others. Of course you know the remedy for unemployment. It is as follows: That the entire rent of land produced by the people shall be collected for the public needs of the people and all taxation be abolished. This would solve the unemployment problem, bring economic freedom to all and make the United States a tax free nation.

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The Last Page

THE FATE OF A WILLFUL MAN

SOME men are born to mastery, while others are born to follow; Some are equipped with convex chins, and some with chests that are hollow; For every man with a leader-like look and a voice that bids you come after, There's a man so timid and weak-willed he only occasions laughter.

Now such a man was Abinadab T. Williams, of our village; He lived upon a run-down farm, and spent his time in tillage; Like everything else he ever tried, he made a failure of farming, And this, for a man of increasing years, impressed him as rather alarming.

Abinadab knew what his trouble was; he lacked the nerve to do battle With obstacles great or impediments small—he was tamer than his cattle.

Whenever he needed courage strong or he wanted action drastic, His heart grew faint, his blood ran cold, and his backbone turned to elastic.

On many a night when he went to bed Abinadab wept for sorrow, And uttered a prayer that from somewhere he might get help on the morrow;

But still the tomorrows came and went, and Abinadab got no braver Than in the days when he ran about as a spineless little shaver.

BUT luck turns once for every man, and one day, in a paper, He read a wonderful, wonderful ad; his sick heart cut a caper; And from that day Abinadab T. Williams was a-flutter With rising hopes and glorious dreams he did not dare to utter.

This wonderful ad was written by a wonderful, wonderful being— A man such as you seldom have the privilege of seeing; He told the world without reserve how he had been a No-good, And then had changed his weakling ways till no one now was so good.

He once was poor, now he was rich; once weak, he now had vigor; Once he could do but little things, but now who could do bigger? And as his life had all been changed from failure unto glory, So could all others change their lives who listened to his story.

All any man would have to do, who wished that he were greater, Was send five dollars in at once—and twenty-five more, later. A course of lessons would be sent, three books, a handsome chart, An elegant certificate, some words to learn by heart.

With this array of guides to grace and principles of learning, Our weak-willed hero had the thing for which he had been yearning; The purpose of the course, in brief, was to fill up the system With manly grit and spunk and pep, for feeble folk who missed 'em.

At last the lessons had begun; Abinadab was jolly; He knew he had no reason now to suffer melancholy; And as he went about his work, around his shoulders hung His book of magic "Winning Words," till he had them on his tongue.

The major theme, the central thought, that lay behind the teaching, Was overcoming cowardice by assertive, bold upreaching. Two-fisted he-men all might be who'd regularly drill And learn to say, by night and day, chin up, chest out, "I WILL!"

Abinadab was faithful, as only those stand by Who know they are receiving sweet manna from the sky; And though his throat and lips got dry, and often he felt ill, He kept repeating constantly, "I WILL! I WILL! I WILL!"

AT length, from weeks of practicing, he had become expert; He knew he was more masterful, his brain was more alert; It seemed he ought to make a test of all his growing power, So into town he firmly strode—it was the zero hour.

His pulse was quick, his breath was short, and yet his head was high And as he passed his fellow men, he looked them in the eye; Ere long, the people noticed it; their neighbors they would grab And whisper, "Jumping Jiminy! What's struck Abinadab?"

But he, unbending, marched along, and went to get his mail. The P. M. was a mighty man, whose voice would shake a jail; He thundered out, "You won't forget that letter for Miss Hill?" But he fainted when Abinadab roared back at him, "I WILL!"

Abinadab T. Williams went along his way, elated; His eyes were fixed, his mouth was grim, his mind was concentrated. The grocer saw him coming, and trotted out a bill; "You will not mind," he said . . . and stopped; He heard a fierce "I WILL!"

The grocer and the man of mail were desperately addled, But when at last they followed fast, boy, how they skedaddled! No sooner had they reached a spot hard by the village square, Than each stopped short, each held his breath, and each began to stare.

Abinadab had met, alas, his lifelong enemy; For years gone by, at sight of him, Abinadab would flee; Today, the bully grasped his coat and sneered, "Say, wanter fight? "I WILL!" burst forth Abinadab,—nor was there time for flight!

When from that tragic spot he crept, his wounded frame was sore, But oh! his blasted faith and bitter heartache hurt him more; He saw he'd learned a way of life less purposeful than blunt: To shout "I WILL!" at everything had now become his wont.

He pondered many a weary hour in disillusionment; But that is nothing to the time Abinadab has spent In looking for another course, his duties long forgot, To teach him how, at proper times, to bellow, "I WILL NOT!"

ECENTRICUS

ANNOUNCEMENTS

All-World Gandhi Fellowship

UNDER the guidance of Mr. Kedar Nath Das Gupta, an executive of the Threefold Movement—Fellowship of Faiths, League of Neighbors, and Union of East and West—an All-World Gandhi Fellowship has been organized with offices in New York City. The Fellowship is a non-denominational society whose object is "to cultivate in individual and collective life the doctrines of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) and *Satyagraha* (soul-force) or the promotion of the peace and happiness of the world." Membership involves no financial responsibility beyond the payment of \$1.00 as an initiation fee and a voluntary yearly contribution of any amount the donor cares to make. For literature and further information write Miss Alma L. Lissberger, 1285 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Good Will Congress

THE International Good Will Congress of the World Alliance for International Friendship will hold its fifteenth annual meeting in Washington, D. C., November 10, 11, and 12. The Hon. Jacob Gould Schurman, former Ambassador to Germany, is chairman of the program committee. Among the speakers will be President Hoover, Frank B. Kellogg, C. C. Wu, Alanson B. Houghton, Mary E. Woolley, James T. Shotwell, Judge Florence E. Allen, Parker T. Moon, Joseph Fort Newton, S. Parkes Cadman, and Col. Raymond Robins. The chief topics for consideration are "Reduction of Armaments," "The Permanent Court of International Justice," "Responsibility of the West for Peace Through Religion," "The Furtherance of International Peace Through Religion." For detailed information, write to Mr. Fred B. Smith, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

National Council Conference

THE annual meeting of the National Council for Prevention of War will be held in Washington, D. C., October 23 to 25. Among the subjects to be discussed are "Education for Peace," "Adjusting Ourselves to the Pact," "Current Legislative Problems," "Fundamental Economic Problems Affecting Peace." The list of speakers will include Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois, Josephine Schain, Anna Garlin Spencer, Judge Florence Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Dorothy Detzer, W. T. Stone, Tucker F. Smith, J. B. Matthews, Isadore Lubin, Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, and Professor James T. Shotwell. The conference will be confined to delegates and invited guests.

On October 22, the day before the opening meeting of the Council, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will hold a conference on a consultative pact, which members of the Annual Conference of the National Council are invited to attend.

Further information may be obtained from Richard R. Wood, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1930.

State of New York, } ss:
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared A. Albert MacLeod, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of his form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Managing editor, none; Business manager, A. Albert MacLeod, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given). The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. (a non-stock corporation); John Nevin Sayre, 104 East 9th Street, New York, President; Vice-President, none; Caroline B. La Monte, Secretary, 52 Vanderbilt Ave.; Kenneth E. Walser, Treasurer, 67 Wall St., New York.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state). None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

A. ALBERT MACLEOD,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of September, 1930.

(Signed) HELEN LESCHORN,
Notary Public,
New York Co., N. Y.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 89; N. Y. County Register's No. 1156.
(My commission expires: March 30th, 1931.)

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